

Heathfield slaps down Tebbit for NUM concession claim

Talks set pit peace hopes flickering

By John Ardill and Malcolm Pithers

Prospects for ending the pits dispute seemed to have brightened after weekend talks between the National Union of Mineworkers and the Advisory Conciliation and Arbitration Service and between the National Coal Board and the National Association of Colliery Overmen, Deputies and Shiftworkers.

be kept open until its coal was exhausted or it was too dangerous to work. But this interpretation was promptly rejected by Mr Heathfield.

Chairmanship, and possibly involving Nacods, who agreed with the board yesterday that another meeting with Acas.

On Saturday Mr Seargill and Mr MacGregor discussed with Acas a new form of working the closure of "unproductive" or "exhausting" pits and a revision of the established colliery review procedure under which closure proposals are discussed between the board and the unions, initially at the local level.

NEWS IN BRIEF

Records right

HEALTH ministers plan to give doctors the sole right to decide whether a patient's personal medical information should be disclosed to the police. Page 2

Appeal on bills

THE Electricity Consumers' Council is urging the Government to limit the effects of the pits dispute by raising electricity prices. Page 17

Nuclear link

NEW evidence shows that plutonium from British civil nuclear reactors has been made available for the US nuclear weapons programme. Page 3

Sit-in goes on

THREE anti-apartheid fugitives in the British consulate in Durban will stay indefinitely after the arrest of three fellow refugees on Saturday. Page 8

Prost wins

ALAIN PROST of France won the European Grand Prix yesterday, cutting Niki Lauda's world championship lead to 4.5 points with one race left. Page 25

Ulster progress

REAL progress in tackling the Northern Ireland problem is possible for the first time in 60 years, Dr Garret Fitzgerald, the Irish premier, said yesterday. Page 2

Dumping fight

CAMPAGNERS against the dumping of nuclear waste at Sellafield, Cleveland, have outbanded Whitehall and the nuclear industry. Page 3

The weather

CLOUDY with outbreaks of rain. Details, back page.

Thatcher seized on Bow row to push policies

By Julia Langdon, Political Correspondent

The public wrangle between the Prime Minister and the Bow Group developed further yesterday to provide a backdrop against which the Government can proclaim the success of its policies at this week's Tory party conference.

Mr Michael Liggins, the chairman of the Tory group, issued another letter to Mrs Thatcher repeating his criticism of the way in which government policy is presented, and unduly by the Prime Minister's earlier dismissal of his charges as "crackpots."

Mr Norman Tebbit, the Trade and Industry Secretary, joined in with a radio interview in which he praised the fact that the Conservative Party was now less deferential than in previous years and applauded the use of constructive debate about issues of policy.

He also took the opportunity to emphasise that Mrs Thatcher and he were as concerned as any of the Government's own internal critics about the need to get its policies right.

No one was more astonished by the affair than the man who started it by writing an article for the latest issue of Crossbow, which is published today.

In it Mr Liggins says that the Government's second term so far presented "a dismal picture of missed opportunities."

He berates the Government for failing to reduce public expenditure and to make tax cuts and described the Government's present approach as "a cop-out."

Such an article would normally not warrant an angry response from Number 10. One senior minister said that it was an "incredible miscalculation" for Mrs Thatcher to reply. She should not have taken the trouble to respond to "a goat bite."



Friendly advice for the 'underdog'

THE US Democratic presidential contender, Mr Walter Mondale, gets some close friendly advice from his wife Joan before the key television debate early today with President Reagan.

Harold Jackson writes: President Reagan's apparently inexorable advance in the opinion polls has been a source of concern to Mr Mondale.

probably the most important night of this election for us.

East Berlin parade of military might backs tough Soviet words

From Hella Pick in East Berlin

Missiles and tanks rumbled through the streets of East Berlin yesterday in the biggest military display to mark the 35th anniversary of the foundation of East Germany.

proud of its achievements, apparently without reservations about the superiority of socialism to capitalism.

In fact, Mrs Thatcher does intend that several initiatives should be signalled during this week so that her Government is projected in a positive light.

The display of military might came after harsh warnings from the Soviet Union, firmly underscored by Mr Honecker, that the division of Germany must be accepted as permanent, and that any attempt to roll back the Iron Curtain in Eastern Europe would be countered by force and was doomed to failure.

Nothing, however, was allowed to overshadow the public embrace between Mr Honecker and Mr Gromyko and a whole series of declarations and gestures from the East German leader to show that his short-lived attempt to depart from Moscow's foreign policy line was over.

He underlined the importance of running the country by a social consensus and said that while there was nothing wrong with conviction, politicians it was necessary to marry this approach with a wider consideration of the public interest.

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Mr Honecker appears to have swallowed his bitter pill with good grace and, in his speech on Saturday, he only made a brief nostalgic reference to "political dialogue" as a way of achieving the "golden goal" of peaceful coexistence.

Bastards put spanner in Burke's works

By John Beard

arch-rival, Debreit's. The directors have been forced to offer to return money to publication subscribers. The volume's publishing director, Mr Harold Brooks-Baker, said yesterday that this would cost the firm 2,000-3,000 copies. It would need an extra £50,000 and was in danger of a takeover bid because of the financial strain.

ing that Debreit's Handbook was not authoritative enough. The date could be July. It could even be September," he said.

But editorial staff are already two months late in sending forms out for completion by aristocrats. Consultant genealogists have advised that work is too far behind to produce an authoritative work by next April, the scheduled publication date.

work involved in drafting forms which could be handled by a computer and would have to record the results of 15 years of aristocratic procreation.

There are people who expect them to do too much," Mr Brooks-Baker said.

"I don't know what the odds are on being taken over," Mr Brooks-Baker said. "The next few weeks will tell." One company, Ravendale Securities, was already bidding.

As well as entering the bastard market, the publishers, Burke's Peerage and Baronetage Ltd, had promised special sections "showing how royal genes come to the top even in republics" and giving a "blood and gold guide" to rich and noble heirs and heiresses and to wealthy widows. The book will cost £60 pre-publication, £100 afterwards.

It seems that every major family in the peerage has a bastard relation. How many of

Clarke to launch campaign against drugs

By Julia Langdon, Political Correspondent

The Government is to announce a package of measures this week to help to combat the growth in drugs abuse among young people. The programme will involve the provision of extra finance, including commitments from the Home Office, the Department of Health and the Customs and Excise.

Mr Kenneth Clarke, the programme when he addresses the Conservative conference in Brighton on Wednesday morning. A debate on drugs abuse has been scheduled because of the concern in the party at the growing problem, but I also reflects the Prime Minister's personal anxiety about the issue.

Mr Thatcher has signalled to ministers in all the relevant departments that this is an area where some action must be taken and the package has been devised as a result.

It has been drawn up by Mr Clarke in concert with the Home Secretary, Mr Leon Brittan, and his Under-Secretary of State, Mr David Mellor, who chairs the interdepartmental Government working party studying the problem. Further discussions have also been held with the other Whitehall departments involved.

The extent of the extra spending is being kept a close secret in order not to diminish the impact of Mr Clarke's speech.

In July, the Government made an additional £1 million available to improve services for the suspected 50,000 drug addicts in Britain. The new money was in addition to £5 million provided for local initiatives, but the Opposition spokesman, Mr Frank Dobson, has maintained that £20 million is needed to cope with the crisis.

INSIDE

Agenda 10

Arts, reviews 11

Business & finance 16, 17

Classified

advertising 4, 18, 20-22

Crosswords 27, 28

Guardian Women 12

Home News 2-4, 28

Letters 14

Media 19

Overseas News 6, 8

Sports News 23, 25

TV & RADIO 26

ENTERTAINMENTS 26

PERSONAL 27

This week

TORY WEEK

As the Conservatives prepare to gather in Brighton, Peter Jenkins argues that the "Scargill factor" is now helping Mrs Thatcher (p.15); Hugo Young suggests that there is a timely warning in the writings of Hayek (p.14); Francis Pym urges the Government to make clear what it is doing (Agenda, p.10); Martin Parley explains how for Patrick Jenkin the past has become the future (Arts Guardian, p.11); and Michael White reveals the true nature of the television circus (Media, p.19).

Tomorrow, Elizabeth Cottrell points out (for Guardian Women) how Mrs Thatcher insists on the supremacy of duties over rights; and on Wednesday Malcolm Dean (in Society Tomorrow) has some warning words for Norman Fowler.



US ELECTION

AMERICAN MONTH

In four weeks' time the United States chooses a new President. Alex Brummer, in Democrat West Virginia, indicates that he will look much like the old (p.15) and that corruption is still a running theme (p.17); William Winpisinger gives a trade unionist's view of the harm Reagan has done to the country (p.10); and tomorrow Harold Jackson reports from Utah where Reagan's vote may top 80 per cent.

BUSINESS PEOPLE

How do people tackle business problems? A new weekly feature begins on page 16.

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Wider safeguards planned for medical information

Doctors to rule on what police should be told

By Andrew Veitch, Medical Correspondent

Health ministers are planning to give doctors the sole right, subject to the law, to decide whether patients' personal medical information should be disclosed to the police.

The existing safeguard, by which administrators can intervene to protect patients' records if they think that the doctor has made the wrong decision, will be destroyed. However, doctors argue that they, and not state officials, will be best able to safeguard their patients' interests.

The proposal is contained in a draft code on the disclosure of personal health data sent out for consultation last week by the junior minister, Mr John Patten.

Drawn up by a working party headed by Sir Douglas Black, president of the British Medical Association, the code sets out the principles which should govern the protection of a patient's right to confidentiality in the wake of the Data Protection Act.

Under the draft code, personal medical information may be disclosed without a patient's consent only if disclosure is required by law, ordered by a court, or needed for management reasons (where a patient has made a complaint about treatment, for example).

A doctor may authorise disclosure of his patients' records for health research; for the prevention, detection, or prosecution of serious crime; or to safeguard national security, or to safeguard public health.

Health authority meetings in which arrangements for implementing the code are formally adopted must be open to the public, and at least once a year health authorities must publish details of disclosures which have been made.

According to Dr John Dawson, under-secretary at the BMA and a member of the group which drew up the code, patients' records should be disclosed in favour of the patient, not the doctor, he said. "From the patient's point of view it is a good deal. They will know what is being done with their records."

However, some administrators and computer experts see things differently. The code will give doctors more power than ever before, they point out. Doctors may release information that they should not, or refuse to release information which is necessary.

At present hospital records are held by health authorities. It often happens, it is claimed, that consultants who do not want to take responsibility for releasing information ask the health authority to do it for them.

Frequently, it is also claimed, a police car after an accident ask junior doctors in casualty departments for permission to look through the records.

It has been pointed out that doctors do not make clinical judgments when they allow police access to their patients' records — they are making judgments about the nature of the crime. The director of the National Council for Civil Liberties, Mr Larry Gostin, says they are not entitled to do so.

"The patient gives information to the doctor in confidence. The doctor must not disclose it, other than by court order, without the patient's permission," he said.

The working party, which includes National Trust members and representatives of the Wildlife Trust, is to report to English Heritage, which recently took over the site from the Government to run it on a more commercial and imaginative basis.

Professor Colin Renfrew, professor of archaeology at Cambridge University and one of the commissioners of English Heritage, said yesterday that while it would be ludicrous for it to be visible from Stonehenge itself, the idea of the options being considered. One argument was for an underground replica, as there were misgivings about taking up large areas of countryside with a full-scale model of Stonehenge.

The pay and ride scheme would obviate the need for a large car park on the site. At present, said Professor Renfrew, the only way to find out about the stones in detail is to buy a book on Stonehenge. If a replica were built it was hoped that many visitors would be satisfied with seeing that and being able to walk around it in total freedom, thus taking some of the pressure off the actual site.

The constant pounding of thousands of feet on the ground around the stones has caused it to become muddy and churned up, and the archaeological site is threatened.

Paul Johnson reports on Unionist attempts to close a new leisure centre.

WHITEROCK Leisure Centre, a red brick building on a hill overlooking West Belfast, is proof of the sophisticated facilities a concerned local authority can provide.

But this centre, with sports hall, swimming pool and squash courts, is becoming a microcosm of the province's problems.

Less than a month after it opened tonight's Belfast City Council meeting will debate a motion demanding the centre's closure.

The problem is that a Tricolour, the Republic's national flag, is flying — illegally — from the building. The Tricolour's orange, white and green is supposed to represent peace between Protestants and Roman Catholics. This one provoked a row on religious lines.

The leisure centre's origins go back eight years. The Social Democratic and Labour Party, which claims credit for the

Party green by nature, not by name

By Michael Morris

Britain's only political party to have an officially designated meditation room at its conference, the Ecology Party, decided after a long think this weekend to keep its title, instead of changing it to the Green Party.

A change was proposed at the three-day conference, which ended at Southport yesterday, in a move intended to emphasise links with other European green parties, such as the Die Grünen in Germany, Les Verts in France, and De Groenen in Holland.

But the decision to remain as the Ecology Party was interpreted by its co-chairman, Mr Jonathan Porritt, as a sign of new confidence in the party that it has a clear sense of its identity.

The 300 delegates yesterday showed their confidence by overwhelmingly carrying an emergency resolution which urged non-violent direct action in support of the mining communities and recommended the party's 6,500 members to become involved in local miners' support groups.

Two schools of thought emerged in the big debate on the party's title, which ended with 220 delegates voting against the proposal, 102 in favour, and 44 abstaining.

Delegates supporting the Greenwich and Lewisham proposal claimed that it would create stronger links with the continental greens which have had new election successes, especially the German party, now represented by 28 MPs.

Green, they argued, was also a symbol of something fresh and exciting in politics, and a term more readily understood than ecology.

But other delegates countered that Green Party had different connotations in British politics: naivety, for instance, or identification in Northern Ireland with republicanism.

But the argument which almost certainly clinched the vote was concerned with the fear that if things went badly wrong in European green politics they could, on the domino theory, go against a British Green Party.

Mr Tony Jones, party campaign organiser, said that many members felt that the Ecology Party had a separate identity, which had taken a long time to build. "If we were to be too closely associated with European green parties, it is felt we might suffer if things did go wrong."

A further argument against the proposal was that the term ecology, although scientific, did sum up what the party's politics were about: protection of the planet and its life-support systems.

Mr Porritt, who has fought for a name change for several years, said he was disappointed by the decision. But he added: "We would not stick with a funny name like ecology unless we were certain it expressed our identity."

In the conference's closing speech he said there was now a willingness among the members to accept the need for greater administrative efficiency. "I see that as a sign that the party is growing up. There is a readiness to accept that if we are to be successful we have to be professional in our organisation because there is a tendency in the green movement to tolerate inefficiency and amateurism in a way that is often detrimental to our chance of success."

In the resolution on the miners' dispute the party blamed the Government for picket line violence, which had reached "catastrophic levels." It rejected the coal board's definition of economic pits, and criticised what it called the board's policy of confrontation.

The party declared itself against a national anti-strike law, which it believed would inevitably exist if the Government won the dispute.

Success for the party has not yet meant electing an MP, but it feels confident that its views are being taken up by other parties.

Irish PM predicts Ulster progress

Forum report

Expanding on the reasons behind his optimism in an Irish radio interview, Dr Fitzgerald said they lay in the reaction of British public and political opinion to the Forum document.

"For the first time, the Irish and British governments have identified the problem to be tackled in the same way."

"For 60 years we have approached it from different angles, in confrontation with each other, if you like. That is not the case any longer," he said.

His conference speech was tinged with warnings that party supporters should not have high expectations of his Anglo-Irish summit meeting with Mrs Thatcher next month. He argued that the Republic

would have to adopt an open approach towards any British moves, which represented a serious and comprehensive reaction to the Forum.

Dublin's first priority on Northern Ireland was to provide nationalists in the North with institutions that would ensure their security, prosperity and human fulfilment, he said. Their situation had to be radically transformed in a way that would endure.

Describing Northern nationalists as the group excluded from the Irish settlement of 60 years ago, Dr Fitzgerald said they had suffered systematic deprivation, discrimination, harassment and repression.

But Dublin recognised that it has a duty to the Unionist population, which was the ob-

ject of a campaign of murder verging on genocide.

His government, he said, was fully committed to respecting Unionists' rights, including the rights of a majority within Northern Ireland to decide on changes in its constitutional position.

He defined the "progress" he anticipated as measures to give hope to ordinary people rather than the imposition of a solution on Northern Ireland.

"The cause of peace on this island is a human, not an ideological cause, that is why Fine Gael will back the cause of peace — peace first, peace above all."

The party conference was intended to improve Fine Gael morale after rumours of splits in the coalition government of which it is part, and a dis-

astrous fall in its opinion poll ratings.

Party leaders believe that the worst is over and are relying strongly on a three-year economic plan, published last week, to reverse the tide of opinion.

Initial reaction to the plan has encouraged their belief. Despite economists' reservations, its measures won broad approval and quietened speculation about a sudden government collapse.

Even the opposition Fianna Fail party conceded that the coalition looks secure for the foreseeable future.

But it is not certain that the successful launch of the plan will ensure the implementation of some of the tougher decisions in next year's budget.

NEWS IN BRIEF

Resort arrests 'normal'

THE east coast resort of Skegness returned to normal yesterday, with police playing down stories of vandalism and violence at the weekend rally of up to 3,000 scooter enthusiasts in the town, writes Sarah Bosley.

Some youngsters made bonfires of fences and vandalised chalets to draw warm overnight. A boat was also set on fire and a caravan was severely damaged.

No special courts were convened to deal with the young offenders, and Chief Superintendent Hugh Cardy said that the 63 arrests over the weekend included people who had nothing to do with the rally. It was the total for "a normal weekend you would get here," he said.

Most of the arrests of scooterists were for alleged criminal damage and some disorder offences.

Mr Cardy said that those involved had come to the scooter rally intending to sleep out over the weekend in tents on the seashore.

Although pub landlords in Skegness had banned scooterists, the youngsters had bought alcohol at off-licences. Police were on hand as the blaze began because the rally took place on an organised site, and so they dealt with offenders immediately. Mr Cardy said. Those charged were released on police bail, and would appear in court in Skegness in the next couple of weeks.

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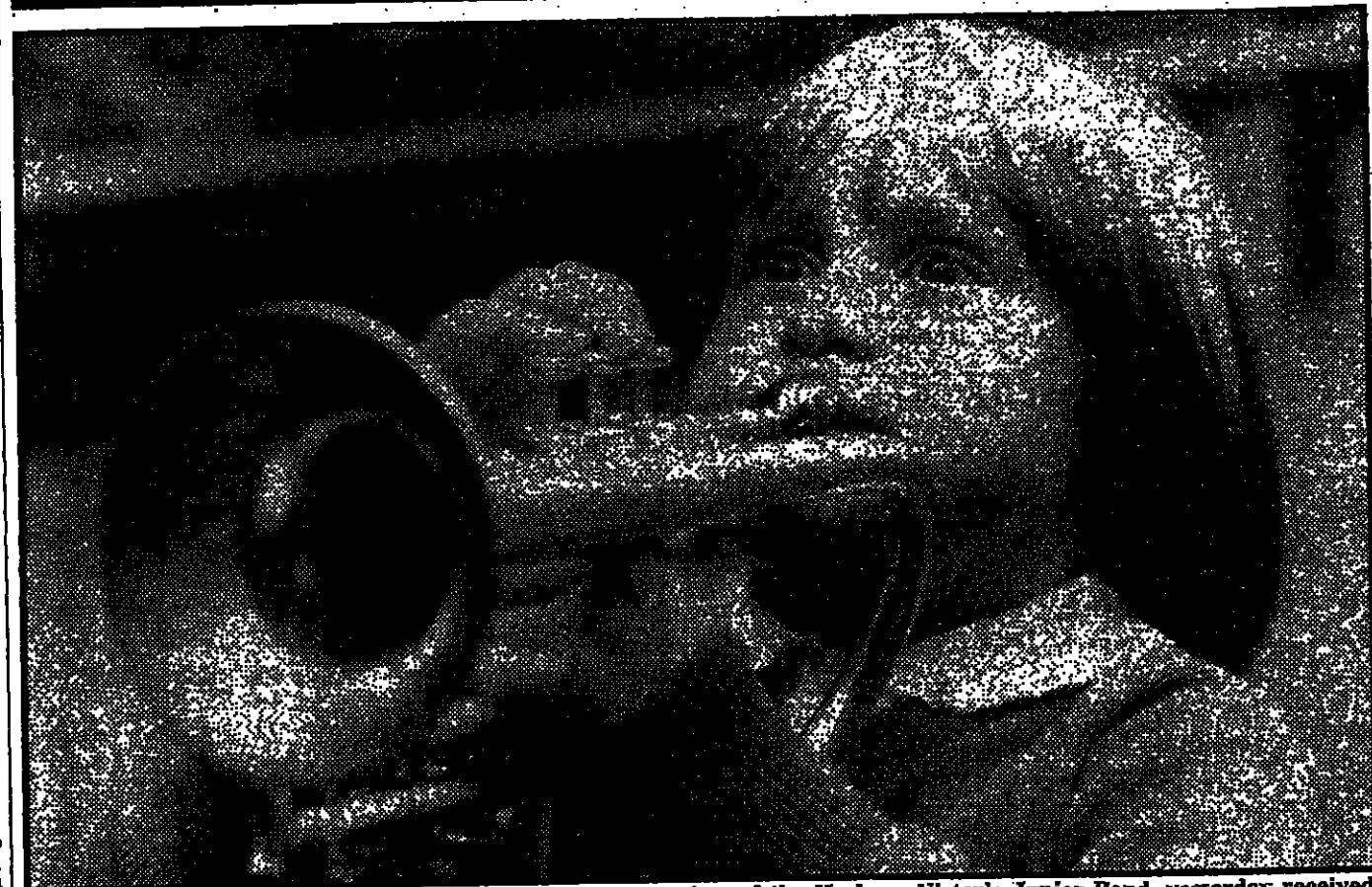
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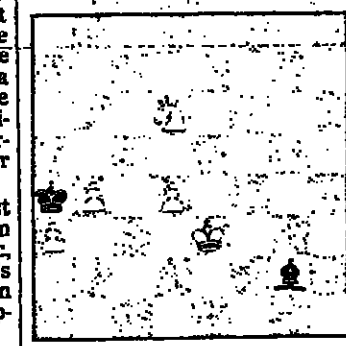
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NON-DIMINUENDO: Rebecca Johnson, aged nine, a member of the Horbury Victoria Junior Band, yesterday received an award as youngest player among the 450 youngsters in hands competing for the title of Champion Youth Band of Great Britain. The competition, held in Kensington, London, was won by the West Glamorgan Youth Band. Picture by Garry Weaser

Win for masterful Karpov



The end for Gary Kasparov, as Karpov's white pawns are poised for a queening advance.

By Leonard Barden

Masterly endgame precision gave Anatoly Karpov another victory in the world chess title match this weekend at Moscow, where he took a near-decisive 4-0 lead over his challenger, Gary Kasparov.

Karpov now needs only two more wins to retain the crown he first won in 1975 when Bobby Fischer defaulted.

White: Karpov, Black: Kasparov. Queens' Gambit, Queen's Defence (9th game)

1. d4 d5 2. c4 e6 3. Nc3 Nf6 4. e3 c5 5. Bb5 a6 6. Bxc6 bxc6 7. dxc5 Nxc6 8. Nf3 Bb7 9. Qd2 Qc7 10. Bg5 h6 11. Bh4 g5 12. Bg3 Ng6 13. Qd3 Bg7 14. Qd2 Qc7 15. Bg5 h6 16. Bh4 g5 17. Bg3 Ng6 18. Qd3 Bg7 19. Qd2 Qc7 20. Bg5 h6 21. Bh4 g5 22. Bg3 Ng6 23. Qd3 Bg7 24. Qd2 Qc7 25. Bg5 h6 26. Bh4 g5 27. Bg3 Ng6 28. Qd3 Bg7 29. Qd2 Qc7 30. Bg5 h6 31. Bh4 g5 32. Bg3 Ng6 33. Qd3 Bg7 34. Qd2 Qc7 35. Bg5 h6 36. Bh4 g5 37. Bg3 Ng6 38. Qd3 Bg7 39. Qd2 Qc7 40. Bg5 h6 41. Bh4 g5 42. Bg3 Ng6 43. Qd3 Bg7 44. Qd2 Qc7 45. Bg5 h6 46. Bh4 g5 47. Bg3 Ng6 48. Qd3 Bg7 49. Qd2 Qc7 50. Bg5 h6 51. Bh4 g5 52. Bg3 Ng6 53. Qd3 Bg7 54. Qd2 Qc7 55. Bg5 h6 56. Bh4 g5 57. Bg3 Ng6 58. Qd3 Bg7 59. Qd2 Qc7 60. Bg5 h6 61. Bh4 g5 62. Bg3 Ng6 63. Qd3 Bg7 64. Qd2 Qc7 65. Bg5 h6 66. Bh4 g5 67. Bg3 Ng6 68. Qd3 Bg7 69. Qd2 Qc7 70. Bg5 h6 71. Bh4 g5 72. Bg3 Ng6 73. Qd3 Bg7 74. Qd2 Qc7 75. Bg5 h6 76. Bh4 g5 77. Bg3 Ng6 78. Qd3 Bg7 79. Qd2 Qc7 80. Bg5 h6 81. Bh4 g5 82. Bg3 Ng6 83. Qd3 Bg7 84. Qd2 Qc7 85. Bg5 h6 86. Bh4 g5 87. 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Town set to dump nuclear waste plan

Paul Brown on the coalition likely to defeat Billingham scheme

THE Government is being forced to rethink a plan to dump radioactive waste in Cleveland which could lead to the industrial town of Billingham becoming the nuclear dustbin of Europe.

When Mr William Waldegrave, the Environment Minister, visits Cleveland on Friday he will enter a political minefield. The protest group, Billingham Against Nuclear Dumping, has brought the North-east's politicians, big business and bureaucrats together to make the Government's position virtually hopeless.

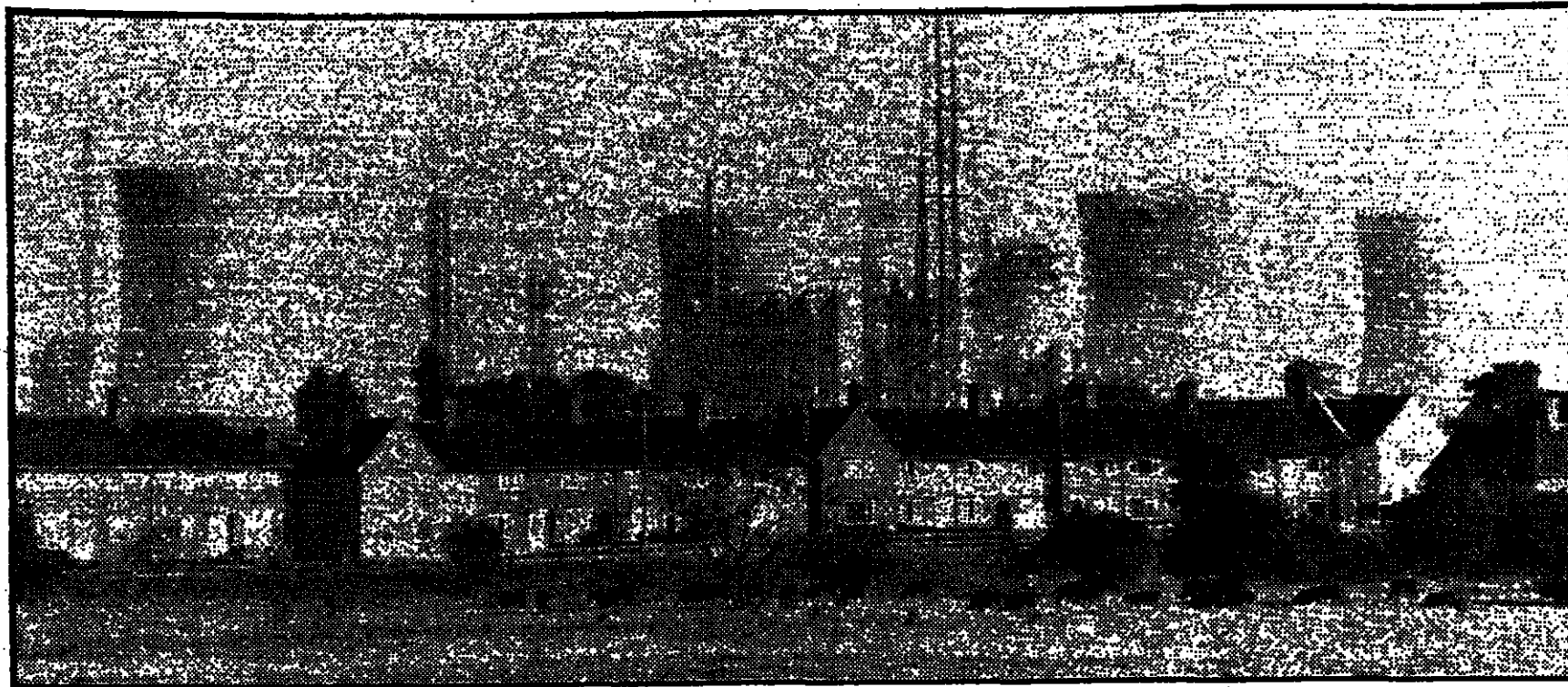
It is a year since the Nuclear Industry Radioactive Waste Executive (Nirex) announced that the huge empty mineral mine underneath the ICI chemical works at Billingham was its favourite site for dumping Britain's ever increasing pile of intermediate nuclear waste.

Cleveland, with the highest density of hazardous industries in Europe, might have been seen as an area which would accept another without complaint. But the initial anger at the proposal was followed by grim determination that the plan would not succeed.

ICI's ownership of the mine is crucial. Initially the company co-operated with the Government and Nirex, and said that it would accept use of the mine for nuclear waste if it was proved to be in the national interest.

The reaction of the company's 7,500 workforce and the rest of the community of Billingham, which lives over the mine workings, forced ICI to change its mind. After further pressure on ICI's chairman, Mr John Harvey-Jones, the company has further hardened its position and has said that it will resist any proposal even to purchase the mine compulsorily, and would not allow Nirex or any agents to enter the mine or carry out any investigations. On Friday ICI reaffirmed its total opposition to the plan, and its willingness to use any legal means in its power to stop it.

This leaves Nirex in an impossible position. As a committee formed by the Government-owned nuclear industry it has no compulsory purchase powers. It must look to the Government to give it those powers if it



BURIAL GROUND: ICI's plant and houses above the old mine where nuclear waste would be deposited.

is to take on ICI and acquire the mine.

Even if the Government were to consider the politically dangerous compulsory purchase plan, all other arguments against Billingham stand ready to confound it later. There must be two planning inquiries, one about the drilling required for the geological survey, which ICI has refused to allow, and the second about the desirability of burying nuclear waste in Cleveland.

The inquiry will have to hear evidence about whether the health of people in the densely populated Cleveland area will be affected by the constant transporting of radioactive substances through housing estates, and whether, once stored underneath them, it will be totally safe.

There is also the question of the safety factor of having 40 hazardous industries within five miles of thousands of tons of radioactive waste, and the fact that the plan has the united opposition of every political party in the North-east, every council, the Chamber of Commerce and every industrialist.

Even if the dumping could be proved to be perfectly safe it would drive away people and jobs. In an area which has the highest unemployment in mainland Britain, with an average of more than 30 per cent out of work, and pockets as high as 60 per cent this is a touchy subject.

An industrialist ready to create 400 jobs initially, expanding to 1,100 wanted to set up in Billingham on the Central Electricity Generating Board's old North Tees power station site next to the ICI chemical works. The CEBG infuriated local people by refusing to allow the land to be sold because Nirex wanted it to sink a shaft down to the mine.

This public relations blunder has led Nirex and the CEBG to try to find someone to share the site with them when it is developed for a dump. They say that two firms are interested. The dump itself does not hold

out any hope of jobs for the area, only the prospect of plummeting house prices.

Mr Harry Davies, aged 54, a Conservative parliamentary candidate, and secretary of the Conservative group which is only two seats away from controlling the Stockton council, said the Billingham mine project would be the equivalent of political suicide for the Conservative Government in the North-east.

"We don't see this as a political issue, but a community issue," he said. "This is our home, and we put up with hazardous industries because that is where we get

our work. But putting a nuclear dump in an urban area is wrong — to bring it to this area is criminal."

Despite the clout of the political and industrial guns it is the dedication of the ordinary Band members that is the real strength of the protest, reflected in 12,000 letters sent to Westminster since June, 83,000 signatures to 10 Downing Street and the change of heart at ICI.

The full-time secretary, Mr Ian Wilson, gets £33 a week, £5 more than the dole, and works seven days a week. He is deeply suspicious that Nirex and the Government

Pictures by Ted Ditchburn

are not telling the whole truth about their plans. The 80,000 cubic metres of waste being talked of for storage is less than 1 per cent of the space available in the mine.

A recent debate at the EEC about the need for nuclear dumps mentioned Billingham as a possible site for all of Europe. Mr Wilson claims this reveals the nuclear industry's real plans. The site chosen has a deep sea wharf on the Tees, although Nirex has only mentioned the need for road and rail links. "We are not becoming the nuclear dustbin of Europe," Mr Wilson says.

Another member of Band, Mrs Susan Coward, thinks Mr Waldegrave should take the determination of Billingham into account. "There are literally thousands of people here who would lie down in front of the bulldozers and the trains if it came to that. Billingham will never have that dump."

The extra cost of storing the waste that no one wants has already been estimated by the industry at between £22 million and £27 million.

In 1981 the House of Commons Select Committee on Energy said: "It would be unthinkable for any Government to commit this country to a substantial programme of nuclear power until there is a firm prospect that the problems of transport and long-term disposal of nuclear waste can be managed safely."



BANDING TOGETHER: Protest group member Susan Coward, Band's secretary, Jan Wilson (centre), and Stockton Conservative councillor and parliamentary candidate, Harry Davies (right)

Sizewell inquiry to hear of US plutonium deal

By Richard Norton-Taylor

Important new evidence that plutonium from British civil nuclear reactors has been made available for the United States nuclear weapons programme — contrary to assurances to Parliament by successive government — is to be put to the public inquiry into plans to construct Britain's first water reactor at Sizewell, Suffolk.

The evidence has been gathered by researchers for the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, and will be placed before the Sizewell inquiry by Dr Ross Hesketh, a nuclear scientist who left the Central Electricity Generating Board in the summer after publicly challenging government denials that there is any direct link between plutonium used for civil and military purposes.

Details will be revealed today by the CND Sizewell working group of a taped interview in which Lord Hinton, a former chairman of the CEBG, says that claims by Mr John Baker, the board's spokesman at Sizewell, that civil plutonium has not been used for military purposes in Britain or elsewhere are incorrect.

The interview was conducted last year shortly before Lord Hinton, who was CEBG chairman at the time the Anglo-US mutual defence agreement was negotiated, died. At the time of his death the CEBG described him as "uncompromising in his standards and unwavering in his integrity."

Dr Hesketh will also tell the Sizewell inquiry that a semi-official history of the CEBG, written by Mr Leslie Hamrah, states that plutonium from the board's Magnox reactors was, indeed, sent to the United States for military purposes. New research, he says, sug-

gests that as much as seven tonnes of British plutonium was exported to the US in exchange for tritium and enriched uranium under the mutual defence agreement.

Whitehall has consistently repeated assurances, first given by the US to Britain in 1964, that plutonium from Britain's civil Magnox reactors would not be used for the manufacture of weapons. However, earlier this year the Reagan administration strongly opposed a move by Congress to back up this assurance by specific legislation.

The House of Representatives energy and commerce committee reported that in the opinion of Mr Donald Model, the US Energy Secretary "it is distinctly possible that plutonium used in or obtained from civilian facilities in the UK and the US will in future be used for nuclear weapons purposes in the US."

The Reagan Administration objected to the committee's plans to prevent British civil plutonium from being used in US military programmes, and has told Congress that America's entire stockpile of fuel-grade plutonium "to be turned into weapons-grade material."

The committee said that such use of British plutonium "could be devastating to the nuclear non-proliferation efforts of the United States." In a recent memo to the committee Mr Justin Bloom, a former energy attaché at the US embassy in London, says that the controversy and civil reactors in Britain is now reprocessed in the same plant at Sellafield, Cumbria.

Mr Bloom noted that Sellafield is not subjected to International Atomic Energy Agency or Euratom safeguards because of its weapons role.

Kevin Hamilton and Tessa Pascal

A report in the Guardian on September 19 giving details of a report on the children of broken homes, prepared by Lord Tony Pandy for the National Children's Home, was published alongside an agency photograph of Mr Len Murray coddling a young boy, Kevin Hamilton. Mr Murray had presented Lord Tony Pandy's report to the press.

We would like to make it clear that Kevin comes from a secure family background, lives

with his mother, father and brother, and attends a day nursery run by the national Children's Home. We apologise if anyone understood publication of the photograph as implying otherwise.

The same applies to Tessa Pascal, who was also shown in the photograph. She, too, comes from a happy and stable family background and attends a day nursery while her mother is at work.

ANOTHER EXPEDITION TO THE SOUTH POLE ON FOOT? GREAT SCOTT!

This year, Swan and Mear set out to follow in the footsteps of both Scott and Shackleton on their trek across Antarctica to the South Pole. And as with the original expeditions, Shell fuel and lubricants will be doing their bit.

YOU CAN BE SURE OF SHELL



HOME NEWS

Housing benefit rules 'too complex'

By David Hencke, Social Services Correspondent

Cash help for thousands of pensioners and low income families is going begging because local councils find the Government's housing benefit scheme too complex according to a report published today.

Investigations in Glasgow and the London borough of Haringey disclosed many pensioners not receiving help who have subsequently qualified for housing benefit supplement.

Taken nationally, the figures would increase the number of claimants from 200,000 to 585,000.

Fourteen other councils are named in the report by Shac, the London housing aid centre, as failing to realise that their average rent levels are high enough to qualify for special aid. Another five are on the border line and could appeal for extra aid.

Low income council tenants and occupational pensioners in their areas are paying substantially higher rents than necessary.

The 14 authorities are Arun, Ashford, and Shepway in Kent; Bromley and Richmond-upon-Thames; Broxbourne, Essex; Colwyn, Delyn and the Vale of Glamorgan in Wales; East Hampshire; New Forest; Portsmouth; West Devon; and Wokingham, Berkshire.

The borderline five are Basildon, Hampshire; Rhymer Valley in Wales; Rochester, Kent; Washington, Durham; and Wimbome, Dorset. An unknown number of authorities are also not claiming extra aid for private tenants.

Mr Nick Raynsford, Shac's director said the problems arose from the complexity of the benefit system.

The report includes a survey of 33 councils which confirms many of the fears of welfare organisations.

The councils administer housing benefit for 25 per cent of the population, and all but one still found problems operating the scheme. All but three urged that it be simplified.

Despite increasing relevant staff by 88 per cent — creating 593 new jobs — each council employee is handling 34 per cent more cases.

The Cost of Chaos, Peter Kemp, Shac, 189a Old Brompton Road, London SW3, £1.95.



Denis Johnson on the grass roots party stalwarts who reflect the changes in the rural shires since the days of Jags and Ascot hats

Devizes Tories keep calm over leader's award

Tim Ormond: farms 800 acres

AT DRAYCOT Foliat and Manningford Bruce, Chilton Foliat and Mantons Hollow, the Conservative representatives from one of England's largest rural constituencies are packing their bags today for what promises to be a rather special Brighton conference.

It's not so much the issues of the day — though heaven knows, there's a special enough. Unemployment, for instance. "Sometimes I think, 'God, there must be a better way,'" says Mrs Christine Budd, chairman of the women's section of Devizes Conservative and Unionist Association, in the sitting room of September Cottage at Manningford Bruce (telephone exchange Stonehenge).

"I don't think we are getting our message across any more like we used to," says Mrs Joyce Jarvis, just back home at Worton House, Worton, after a fortnight in Majorca. "I feel deeply about unemployment, and I wish the majority of people realised that we do care."

No, what makes Brighton different for Devizes is the knowledge that they will have the unusual distinction of receiving from Mrs Thatcher the coveted and framed "Leader's Letter" for handing over their annual financial quota to Central Office for 35 years without a break.

This is some going in the modern Conservative Party where the landed interest, with its generous shell-outs, has been replaced by a middle class body politic, always in danger of seeping complacency. This year the Devizes quota, based on the Conservative vote at the last election, is £5,600, threatening the very foundations of

Wiltshire village halls with a Babel of fund-raising.

Yet the Leader's Award is unlikely to prompt any wild parties among the six-strong group of representatives, mostly ex-officio, or seven if you included the agent. They are unlikely to meet at Brighton, unless the MP, Mr Charles Morrison, scours the hall to find them and buy them a pot of tea in the Grand.

They don't all know one another, partly because the constituency is geographically so large (electorate of 65,000) that newly elected section officers seldom meet.

The Devizes group reflects the change which has overtaken the active Conservative grassroots in the past 25 years. They come from deep within the stone and thatch of rural England, yet there are no knights of the shires, no Jaguars, no Ascot hats like the ones which used to deck the conference hall and still linger in the memo-

The constituency chairman, Mr Tim Ormond, who farms 800 acres at Draycot Foliat, near Marlborough, will be staying with a friend. So will Mrs Jarvis. The treasurer, Mr Nick Martin, and his wife, Rosalind, will join Mrs Budd and her husband, Stephen, a builder of industrial units, at the Roslyn Guest House.

The Young Conservatives' chairman, Adam Poole, aged 19, who works in the sales office of a building supplies firm, and his YC colleague, Ian James, a student, will get a lift to one of the YC hotels, though Ian worries about finding the £60 for the room.

They don't go to Brighton with uniformly uncritical thoughts. The only one hoping to speak is Ian James,

who is 18, works as a hotel porter to help him through a two-year course in business studies at Swindon, and wants to be an MP. His father is a gardener at the Chilton Estate near Hungerford.

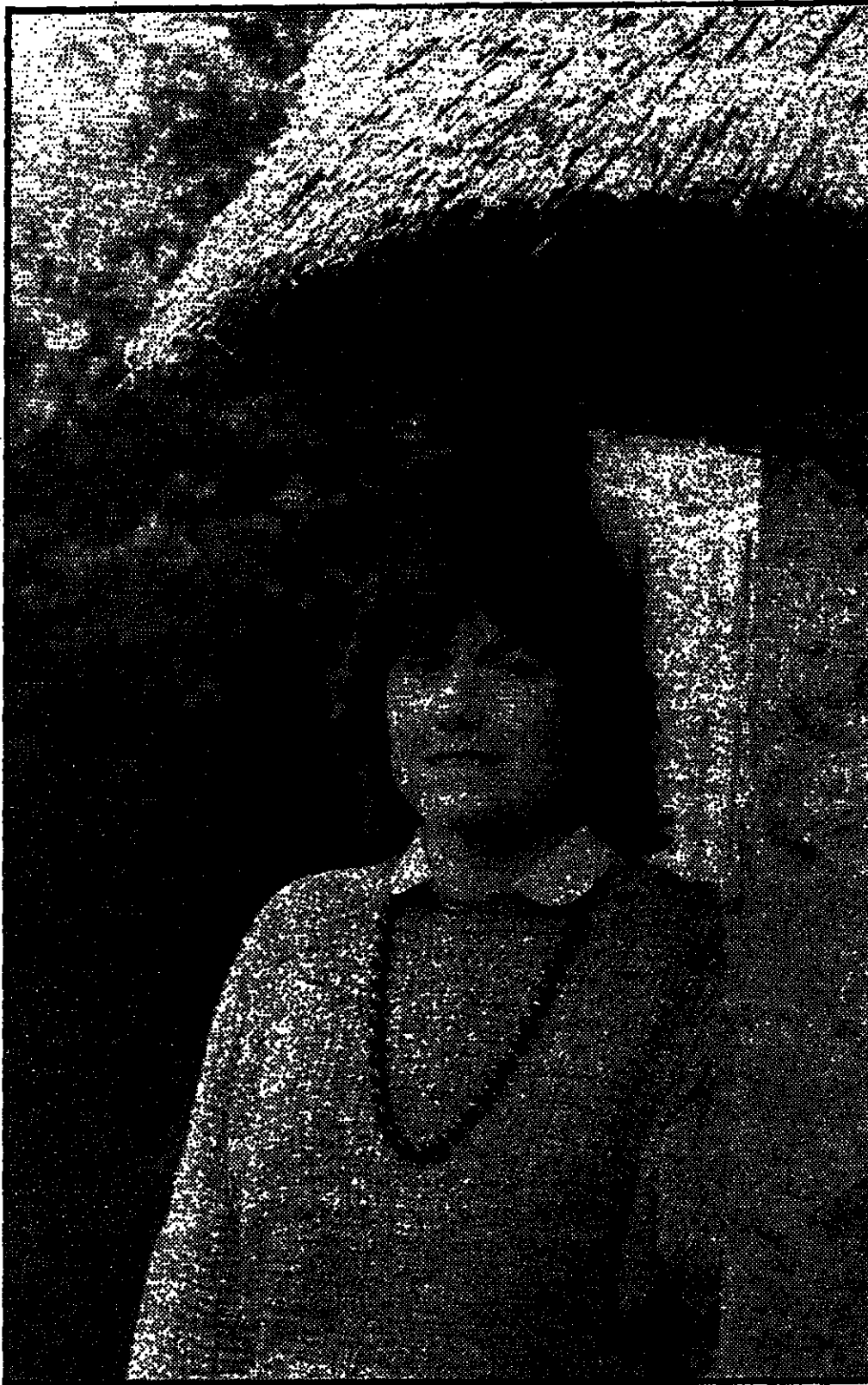
He hopes to contribute to a debate on a motion from Ceredigion and Pembroke North urging help for the unemployed, and sees himself as left of centre in Conservative terms. "More money spent on capital works could improve the resources of the country without adding massively to inflation," he says.

Tim Ormond's thoughts are even more unsettled. "Proportional representation," he says, "may become the right way forward. On defence, I'm a disarmament at heart. Should we be locking money up in Trident? Would we have put money in Spitfires in 1948? I don't know the answers."

Behind the heavy weeping willows at September Cottage Mrs Budd, a member of the parochial church council and WRVS emergency services organiser for Kennet District, has no quarrels with government policy, though she says that Mrs Thatcher's single-mindedness on unemployment is troubling members of her women's section.

"I'm happy with Trident. I value the quality of our lives rather more than living just for the sake of living."

At his detached house on a Mantons Hollow estate, near Marlborough, Nick Martin, a solicitor, says he's going to Brighton chiefly to receive the Leader's Award as treasurer. Is he of the left or the right? "If I answer that I shall have a label," he says. "I support the Government."



Christine Budd: 'must be a better way'

Picture by Garry Weaser

Legal aid granted in MoD action

By Paul Brown

Legal aid has been granted for a Greenham Common woman to sue Ministry of Defence police for damages after allegations that she was strip-searched while detained inside the cruise missile base.

Ms Stella Mann-Cairns was detained with six other women on December 14 last year after occupying one of the watchtowers on the base.

It is the first time that legal aid has been granted for a Greenham woman to take civil action against the police as a result of complaints about their behaviour and is expected to be followed by other applications. The writ will be issued this week and damages will be sought for humiliation caused by the experience.

The Ministry of Defence will not comment on the case, although in May Mr John Stanley, armed forces minister, denied in a Commons written reply that any strip-searches had been carried out at Greenham Common.

After her arrest, Ms Mann-Cairns was charged with criminal damage, but on February 10 the charge was formally dismissed by Newbury magistrates after MoD police had offered no evidence.

A week later Ms Mann-Cairns made a formal complaint. She was interviewed in March by an MoD chief inspector. Since then she had heard nothing from police. After obtaining legal advice and counsel's opinion she was granted legal aid and has decided to claim damages.

The Ministry of Defence said that the complaint had been passed on some months ago to the Police Complaints Board. The board said they had not received the file but had telephoned the Ministry of Defence, where an official said it was in the post.

Pay dispute could 'jam' local radio

By David Hearst

Independent local radio stations throughout the country face disruption from today as members of three unions start a work-to-rule over a pay claim.

Journalists, studio staff and engineers will be holding mandatory union meetings at times

most likely to disrupt programmes, refusing to work overtime, and taking other sanctions.

Their unions, the National Union of Journalists, the Association of Broadcasting Staff and the Association of Cinematograph, Television and Allied Technicians, last week rejected a 5 per cent pay offer from the IRL management.

They are demanding a 12 per cent rise and are understood to be willing to settle at 8 per cent.

Mr John Foster, the NUJ's broadcasting organiser, said that the unions would step up their action within the first fortnight of the work-to-rule.

The average wage of journalists at IRL stations was £9,000, he said, but many engineers were paid below £5,000 — the minimum national wage. He said: "Salary levels are abysmally low at IRL stations and we intend to start guerrilla actions to disrupt the working

CREATIVE AND MEDIA



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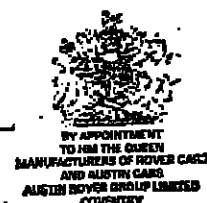
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Creative and Media

continues

on Page 18

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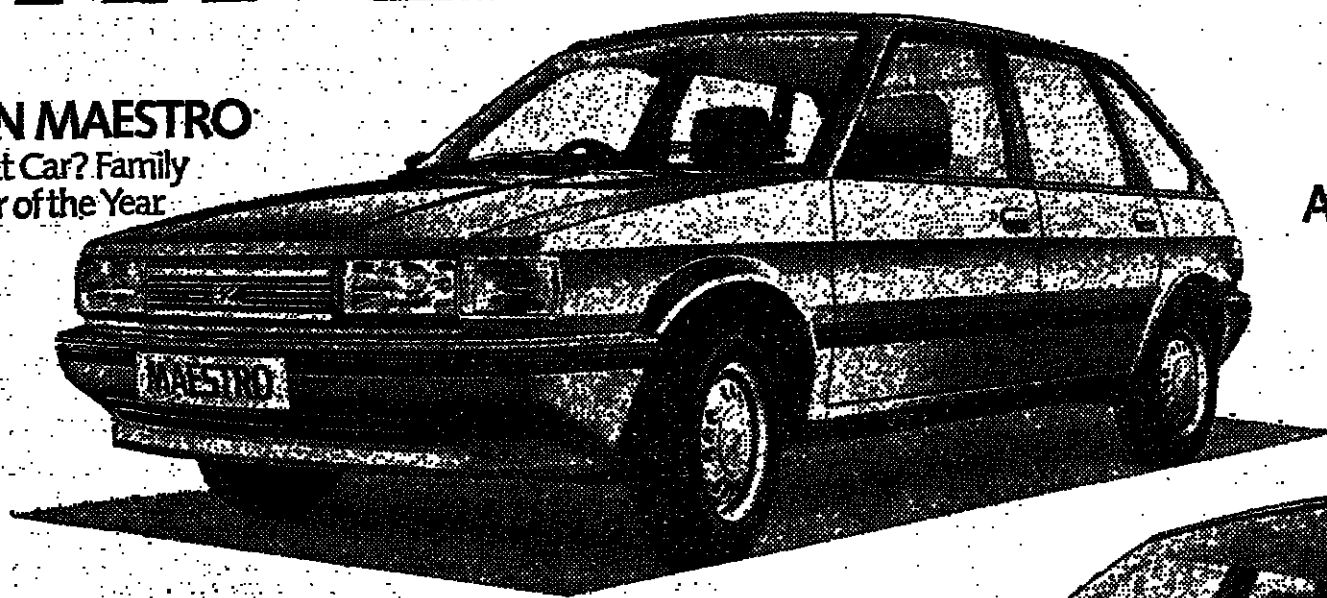
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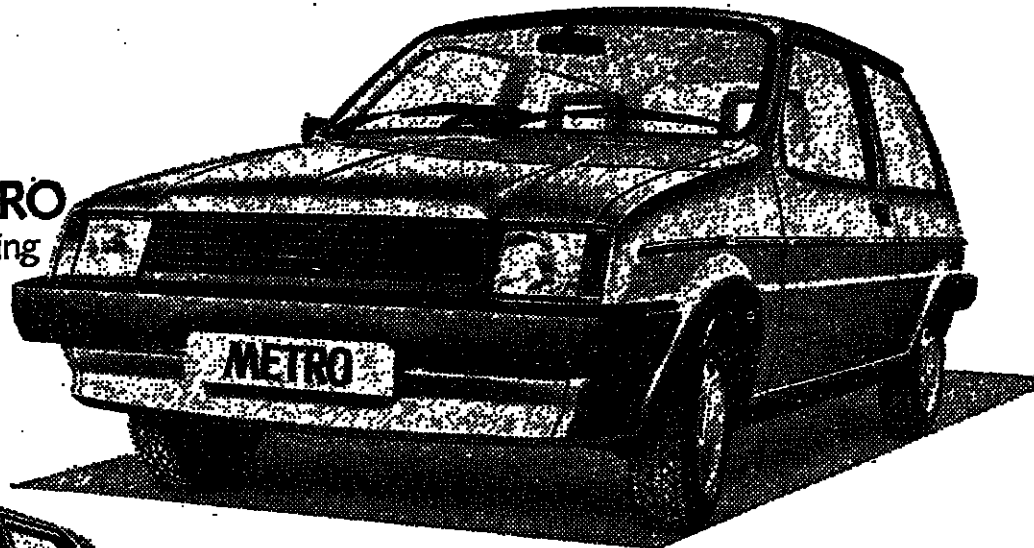
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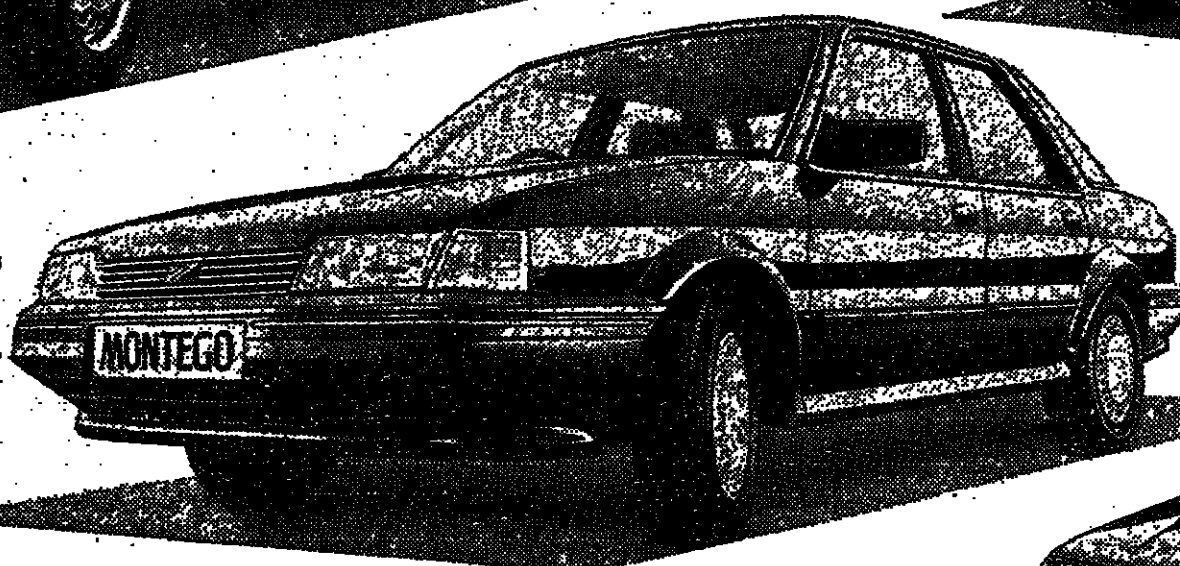
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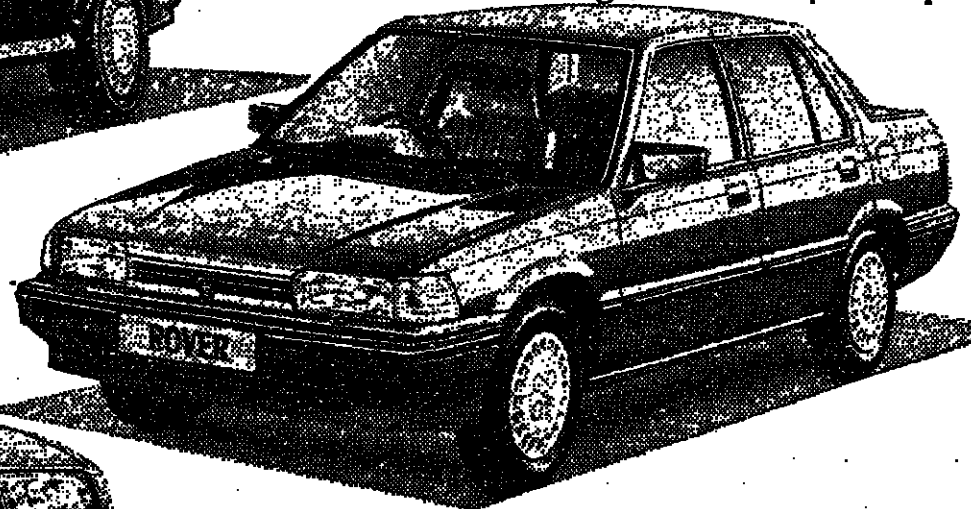
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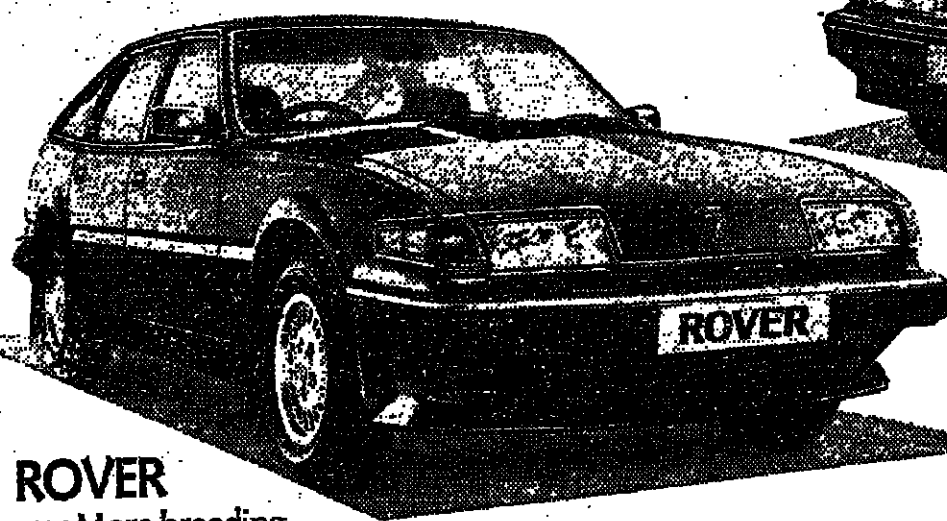
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FROM
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Belgrade expels British reporter

Belgrade: The British journalist, Nora Beloff, left Yugoslavia yesterday after being expelled by the Yugoslav authorities on Saturday night, the British embassy in Belgrade said.

Miss Beloff, aged 65, a veteran correspondent and writer on East European affairs, left by train for Paris after being given 24 hours to be out of the country. She was accompanied to the station by two British diplomats.

Miss Beloff is a retired chief political correspondent of the Observer and was on a short visit to Yugoslavia. She said last night that two Yugoslav policemen visited her rooms in Belgrade.

They asked her to sign a statement saying that she had contacted "enemy elements" during her visit to Yugoslavia. She said she refused and was then told to be out of the country by the evening and banned from re-entering Yugoslavia for five years.

A spokesman for the British Embassy said it would seek clarification of the Yugoslav action. Veteran observers said the move was highly unusual.

Miss Beloff, who has visited Yugoslavia nine times in the past four years, said she had been finishing a new book on modern Yugoslavia.

She said that the two policemen and an interpreter searched her rooms in Belgrade for two hours and then asked her to sign the prepared statement.

"I refused to sign, and the policemen seized a typed chapter of my new book, my notebooks, and about 70 pages of translations of articles which appeared in the Yugoslav press," she said.

The policemen then stamped her British passport with the order expelling her and gave her a receipt for the seized belongings. She said she was not treated roughly but was prevented from telephoning anybody until the policemen left.

East Germany still refusing to grant exit visas

Impasse in Prague over 140 inside embassy

From Anna Tomforde in Bonn

The number of East Germans seeking refuge in the West German embassy in Prague was reported yesterday to be as high as 140, as Bonn officials spoke of a total impasse in the negotiations with East Berlin about their release.

West German newspaper and television reports said that the number inside was much higher than the previous estimate of about 100 men, women and children, demanding to be allowed out to go to the West. More refugees than originally thought have gained access to the building since its closure on Thursday.

In their first intervention in the affair, the Czechoslovak authorities on Saturday police guards in the cobbled streets around the embassy to check the papers of passers-by. Security has also been tightened at the nearby American embassy.

Meanwhile, efforts to top level East and West German negotiators to solve the occupation remained deadlocked yesterday. On his return from talks in East Berlin, the state secretary in Bonn's ministry for inter-German relations, Mr. Ludwig Becher, said, "We are racing our brains but so far I cannot see how we shall get out of this situation."

East Germany, which at the weekend celebrated its 35th anniversary, is understood to want to use the incident as a deterrent to other would-be emigrants, and is still not prepared to discuss granting exit visas. It has promised the refugees freedom from arrest and prosecution if they return home.

But the refugees as well as

Prague-based western diplomats, believe that they might not be permitted to resume their normal jobs, lives and education if no arrangement is found for them to emigrate, and they are forced to go back to East Germany.

One young woman told a reporter before entering the building with her husband and child that if sent back home her child would go into a home and she and her husband would be gaoled. She said earlier pleas to be allowed to emigrate had been ignored.

East Germany told Bonn that the men, women and children can return to their homes without facing punishment during intensive negotiations to end the occupation.

Bonn officials said that negotiations focused on finding a lasting solution to the problem of East Germans seeking refuge in diplomatic missions and West Germany had made clear that this could best be achieved by East Germany relaxing travel regulations.

Chancellor Kohl, who left for a week-long trip to China at the weekend, said Bonn would do everything possible to solve the problem, but added there was little his officials could do as it was a matter for the East Germans to decide.

The rightwing mass circulation Bild am Sonntag reported that more refugees had climbed an 8ft fence into the embassy gardens since last Friday, pushing children through the fence's iron bars. But there was no independent confirmation of this account.

The refugees in the embassy, housed in the splendid baroque Lobkowitz palace, are sleeping on chairs, camp beds, and on the floor.



Soldiers march past yesterday in East Germany's largest military parade to celebrate the country's 35th anniversary.

Nato to counter terror attacks on missile sites

WASHINGTON: Nato defence ministers meeting in Italy this week will discuss new measures to defend the West against terrorist attacks on Pershing II and cruise missile sites in Western Europe, a senior US official said.

He said the measures included new security gates at missile sites and at other nuclear bases, increased readiness by guards and new watchtowers.

A report to the ministers will be made by a Nato weapons protection group headed by Richard Wagner, a senior aide of the US Defence Secretary, Mr. Weinberger.

The official also said that one of the highest priorities of a special Soviet force known by its acronym Spetsnaz was to launch deep penetration strikes against Nato nuclear weapons.

The latest edition of Jane's Fighting Ships alleges that Spetsnaz is an elite group trained in the techniques of raiding, sabotage, reconnaissance, and political murder, and is controlled by military intelligence.

Their US official said the Nato ministers would also hear a report on the deployment of Pershing and cruise missiles in West Germany, Britain and Italy, and the prospects for their deployment in Holland and Belgium.

The Soviet Union had already deployed about 275 of its new SS20 missile and was preparing sites for additional

missiles, the official said. Mr. Weinberger leaves Washington for the Nato meeting tomorrow and his will report to his fellow ministers on the recent talks on arms control matters and East-West relations between President Reagan and the Soviet Foreign Minister, Mr. Gromyko.

He will later visit Tunisia, Egypt, and Israel.

Newspaper bought

Milan: Italy's most prestigious newspaper, Corriere della Sera, has been bought by a consortium backed by the country's financial and industrial elite, judicial sources said yesterday.

The Milan-based Corriere, Italy's most widely-read newspaper, with a circulation averaging just over 600,000, had been under court-appointed administration for two years together with the Rizzoli publishing house which controls it.

The newspaper came close to bankruptcy in 1982, burdened by debts incurred through the association of its previous owners, the Rizzoli family, with Banco Ambrosiano, the Milan bank which crashed in the same year.

One of the magistrates responsible for finding a buyer for Rizzoli, Antonio Pizzi, said the takeover by a consortium headed by a finance company called Gemina was finalised on Saturday night.

Gemina is controlled by the Agnelli family, who own Fiat, the Pirelli, proprietors of the international tyre group of the same name, and by a state-owned merchant bank, Mediobanca.

Also involved in the £55 million deal are an investment company owned by Montedison, Italy's largest chemical concern, and a group of Catholic financiers.

The shares had been seized by magistrates after the two men were arrested and charged last year with involvement in the fraudulent collapse of Banco Ambrosiano. Gemina has also negotiated to buy a 40 per cent stake in Rizzoli held by La Centrale, the former financial holding company of the defunct Ambrosiano. — Reuter.

De Lorean divorce suit

From Christopher Beed in San Francisco

The wife of Mr John De Lorean is suing him for divorce, thus adding new complications to the tangled financial affairs of the car manufacturer.

The suit from Mrs De Lorean — the former model, Cristina Ferrare — comes just over two weeks after the couple announced their separation, and nearly two months after Mr De Lorean was acquitted in a £20 million drug trial in Los Angeles. Mr De Lorean, aged 59, is still involved in bankruptcy hearings in Detroit into his failed sports car venture in Northern Ireland, and is under investigation for a missing £15 million from the company.

At present, all his assets, including the couple's three apartment homes, and his numerous bank accounts, are frozen. Under the law in California, where the divorce suit was filed, a wife is automatically entitled to half her husband's property. However, the three homes and a manufacturing plant in Utah owned by Mr De Lorean, are likely to be included in claims by his creditors, of which the British Government is one.

Italian Left says Andreotti must go

From Campbell Page in Rome

The Communist Party yesterday urged the Foreign Minister, Mr Giulio Andreotti, to resign after a controversial parliamentary debate and vote on his relationship with the fallen banker, Michele Sindona.

A leading article in the party newspaper, L'Unita, said that the vote, in which Mr Andreotti had the support of only 199 out of the 454 deputies in the Chamber, could not be ignored. His position had become untenable and he should draw the proper conclusions.

In Thursday's debate, Mr Andreotti, one of the great names in the Christian Democrat Party and prime minister in five previous governments, survived a motion by the Radical Party and Proletarian Democracy calling for his resignation because the Communists, as the main opposition party, abstained.

Those 154 votes were decisive in saving Mr Andreotti, but the Communist leadership said he had become a liability for the foreign minister should resign anyway. Abstention in the voting could not be regarded as absolution.

Communist deputies had no time to consult party headquarters before the vote, but the party is brushing aside charges of ambiguity by emphasising the seriousness of the 107 votes cast against Mr Andreotti. Half of those came from members of the ruling majority.

Mr Andreotti, noted for his brief and ironic response to criticism, yesterday defended

himself at length in an article in the newspaper, Il Tempo. Referring to Sindona, who is serving a 25-year sentence in the United States, but was extradited temporarily to Italy for questioning by magistrates, Mr Andreotti said that he had never been asked for favours.

Moreover, as foreign minister, he had helped to introduce the new agreement between Italy and the United States which allowed temporary extradition, as in the case of Mr Sindona's return earlier this month.

Mr Andreotti also attacked a recent suggestion that he had been hostile to the work of the high commissioner against the Mafia, General Dalla Chiesa, who was assassinated in Palermo in September, 1982.

A new book by the general's son claims that Mr Andreotti turned tail when the general said he was investigating Christian Democrat politicians in Sicily who were corrupting the Mafia. Mr Andreotti dismissed the allegations as false and said that his relations with the general had always been excellent.

Mr Andreotti believed that he had become a target for attack because of opposition to some of his policies as foreign minister and also to his possible emergence as a candidate in next year's presidential election. It could also be an attempt to damage the entire Christian Democrat Party.

"Political life is sometimes like billiards. People aim at the cushion in order to reach other objectives," he said.

Sindona is reported to have said in prison that Mr Andreotti had helped not him personally but his bank. Unlike other politicians, he had never sought money in return.

Pope aims at Mafia

Reggio Calabria, Italy: The Pope, gazing at the coastline of Sicily, where the Mafia originated, urged Italian youth yesterday to become a determining moral force against organised crime.

On the last stop of his three-day tour of Italy's poor south, he told some 20,000 flag-waving young people in front of a church: "Never succumb to the temptation of criminal and mafioso violence."

"You must be the most determining moral force to defeat every kind of mentality that leads to insolence, to oppression and vendetta."

He also told the young people that they had an obligation to help their peers who had fallen into the snare of organised delinquency, and who want to liberate and redeem themselves.

Earlier, when he arrived in Reggio, the Pope spoke out again about "the phenomenon of criminal and mafia activities concentrated in the poorest regions of the community, with Italy getting 39 per cent of last year's grants, Britain 22 per cent, and Greece 17 per cent."

France and the Irish Republic also received significant grants, but the remaining five member states — Germany, Belgium, Denmark, the Netherlands, and Luxembourg — received 4.5 per cent of total funds between them.

In total, slightly more than

Britain near top of league for EEC regional grants

From Derek Brown in Brussels

Five of the 10 EEC countries received more than 85 per cent of the Community's regional fund grants between last year and 1983, as the second biggest recipient, obtained £275 million.

The EEC Commission's annual report on regional fund operations shows that allocations are being increasingly concentrated in the poorest regions of the community, with Italy getting 39 per cent of last year's grants, Britain 22 per cent, and Greece 17 per cent.

France and the Irish Republic also received significant grants, but the remaining five member states — Germany, Belgium, Denmark, the Netherlands, and Luxembourg — received 4.5 per cent of total funds between them.

In total, slightly more than

two billion European currency units (about £12 billion) were spent last year, raising the total since the fund started in 1975 to £54 billion.

Ninety-nine of the money spent last year went towards infrastructure improvements, and most of the rest on direct investments, to create or maintain some 62,000 jobs. Since the fund started in 1975, nearly 480,000 jobs have been created, and £380 more preserved, with the help of regional fund support measures.

In Britain, the jobs figures are 109,790 created, and 52,590 maintained.

The annual budget of the European Regional Development fund (ERDF) amounts to only 0.8 per cent of community gross domestic product, and is dwarfed in EEC terms by the cost of the Common Agricultural Policy, now topping £10 billion.

"Even so," the annual report says, "ERDF assistance can represent up to 20 per cent, and sometimes more, of total public and private sector investment in some regions, and can, therefore, be an important element in regional development."

The ERDF is just one of the European programmes for assisting the poorest regions. Further aid comes from the EEC Social Fund, the European Investment Bank, interest rate subsidies, and various farm improvement subsidies.

The Community is working to coordinate and thus enhance the impact of the different types of aid, in so-called integrated operations in Belfast and Naples. Last year, the annual report notes, the Commission decided to co-finance 16 preparatory studies for further integrated operations.

France sends neo-Nazi back to West Germany

From Our Correspondent in Bonn

France deported at the weekend Michael Kuehnhen, West Germany's most notorious neo-Nazi leader. He was immediately imprisoned in Cologne and faces trial for the distribution of Nazi propaganda.

Kuehnhen, a 29-year-old former Bundeswehr lieutenant, fled to Paris in April, evading trial. He is also due to serve an eight-month sentence for perjury.

Kuehnhen's group, the Action

Front of National Socialists, was banned by the Interior Ministry last December. It is said to have almost 400 active members in 32 local organisations.

While group members have gone on trial for bank robberies and the murder of a former colleague, Kuehnhen himself has got away with a series of minor sentences since the group was founded in 1977. He was dishonourably discharged from the Bundeswehr on account of his activities in 1979, while studying at the Hamburg military academy.

Diplomatic wrong note

Oslo: The wife of a Soviet diplomat here was arrested and detained briefly by police after trying to cash a \$500 note that went out of circulation in 1937.

The woman, who has not been named, took the note to an Oslo bank and asked for it to be changed into Norwegian crowns.

Staff at the bank became suspicious when they discovered production of the note ceased in 1937, but the woman agreed to leave the note at the bank for examination and return the following day. She returned three days later and was arrested. — Reuter.

US general's libel action will open wounds of Vietnam War

From Harold Jackson in Washington

ONE OF the most controversial libel cases in recent American history will be heard by the Federal Court in New York tomorrow. It promises to open all the old wounds of the Vietnam War and revive the bitter domestic political divisions which that conflict took place.

The case will also give the federal courts — and probably the increasingly conservative Supreme Court — another chance to rule on where the boundaries of the First Amendment guarantee of a free press should be drawn.

The suit has been brought by the former American commander in Vietnam, General William Westmoreland against the CBS television network. It arose from a long documentary broadcast on January 23, 1982, which alleged that there had been a conspiracy among senior military officers in Saigon consistently to understate the strength of the North Vietnamese and Vietcong forces. The purpose, the programme claimed, was to show that America was winning the war.

The general called a news conference three days after the programme to denounce it as "preposterous and irresponsible." He denied that the maximum Vietcong strength had

been arbitrarily assessed at 300,000 in 1967, or that intelligence reports of increasing North Vietnamese army infiltration had been suppressed. The implication was that this deception lay behind American unpreparedness for the massive Tet Offensive early in 1968.

The general and the former US Ambassador in Saigon, Mr Ellsworth Bunker, said that there had been disagreements on how to interpret the raw intelligence coming into the military assistance command in Vietnam, but vehemently denied that any of the data had been doctored or withheld from the White House and Congress.

CBS, which had drawn on the evidence of a former intelligence officer in Saigon, Colonel Gains Hawkins (who appeared on the programme) stuck to its guns. In May that year, however, the independent magazine, TV Guide, published a long investigative report in which it charged the network with "inaccuracies, distortions, and violations of journalistic standards" in preparing the documentary.

In particular, it alleged that some of those interviewed had been specially coached on their answers, and that participants favourable to the general had been unfairly edited.

The guarantees of press freedom will be at issue when the former American commander, William Westmoreland (right) takes on CBS TV



The network instituted an internal inquiry which ended with a memorandum from the president of its news department, Mr Gordon Sauter, admitting that there had been at least five violations of the CBS news reporting code, although he said he still supported "the substance of the broadcast." Eventually, the producer of the programme, Mr George Crile, was suspended for a year and has still not been fully reinstated by CBS.

Under pressure from former colleagues — and promised the financial support of a conservative interest group, the Capital Legal Foundation — General

Westmoreland issued his libel writ. Both sides have retained public relations companies to publicise their side of the dispute, and it is estimated that \$2 million has already been spent on the pre-trial manoeuvring.

The general's problem, under American law, is that as a public figure he must show the court that the network acted with deliberate malice in publishing false information. His own deposition runs to 1,993 typewritten pages, and the lawyers on each side have so far subpoenaed nearly 300,000 pages of wartime documents. In many cases they were highly classi-

fied and the trial will be the first occasion on which they have been made public.

The libel action has lined up partisan forces on both sides and is seen as one of the country's most crucial trials since the days of the civil rights struggle. There are more than 100 witnesses ready to testify and, in a preliminary ruling, two judges Judge Pierre Leval held that General Westmoreland had discovered enough conflicting evidence to go to a jury.

Colonel Hawkins, now retired, has repeated his original charges and will be one of the principal defence witnesses. "It was time to come forward and tell what happened," he said recently. "At the time, I thought what I did was right. I was supporting the command — you know, follow your damned leader. It wasn't like the German ordering you to shoot some Jews. It was a little more subtle than that, but it was unethical nonetheless."

His claims have been supported by other intelligence officers of the period, including one who now works at the White House. Mr Richard Kovar commented: "The programme ought to be rebroadcast in prime time on each anniversary of the Tet Offensive so that no intelligence

analyst, soldier, or citizen who watches it will ever let anything like this happen again."

But President Johnson's former National Security Adviser, Mr Walt Rostow, described the allegations as palpably untrue. CBS took a debate over a minor issue and built it up to a charge of conspiracy by a commander to deceive the President," he said. The former director of the Central Intelligence Agency, Mr William Colby, said the programme was "a travesty of history."

Few observers doubt that, with so much at stake on both sides, the issue will eventually wind up in the Supreme Court, a prospect that worries many in the television and news paper industry. In recent years, state and federal courts have shown themselves ready to curtail the often raucous freedom of the American press.

There are the inevitable fears, therefore, that the Westmoreland case may see yet further erosion of the broad judicial interpretation of the First Amendment adopted by the Supreme Court in 1955. It then laid down the principle that the First Amendment freedoms of speech, assembly, religion, and the press are entitled to "a preferred position in constitutional adjudication."

NEWS IN BRIEF

Strike call in Malta

THE Maltese Confederation of Trade Unions yesterday called on its 15,000 members to stage a one-day strike on Wednesday in support of striking teachers locked out of government schools.

The vice-president of the union, Mr Maurice Agius, said that the Government was using the lockout to put pressure on the teachers, who want better pay and conditions. Malta's 72 private Catholic schools have remained closed since last Monday because of a dispute about private education with the Government. — Reuter.

Liberians freed

THE PRESIDENT of Liberia, General Samuel Doe, yesterday ordered the release of a university professor, Amos Sawyer, and nine other people detained in August in connection with an alleged plot to overthrow him. Also to be freed was the deputy speaker of the Interim National Assembly, General Nicholas Podier. — Reuter.

Hotline pact

NORTH and South Korea have agreed to maintain a direct "hotline" telephone link, set up to arrange for the delivery of humanitarian relief aid to flood victims in the south, the Red Cross said at the weekend in Seoul. The two sides have agreed to test the telephone lines' performance twice a day. — Reuter.

Visa upset

COLOMBIA'S Roman Catholic Church has called on the Government to deny an entry visa to a Brazilian transsexual entertainer. The visit by Roberta Close "is but one more proof of the high degree of moral rot in the country," the Church said. — Reuter.

Russian 'dying'

AN IMPRISONED Soviet journalist, Valeriy Martshenko, is dying in a Leningrad hospital, his mother told a Frankfurt-based human rights organisation at the weekend. Both his kidneys had stopped functioning and his heart was getting weaker, she said. — Reuter.

Amal shooting

A SHITE military official of the Amal movement was shot dead yesterday by unidentified gunmen at the village of Arabasaleem in Israeli-occupied south Lebanon. Amal later accused the Israeli-backed South Lebanon Army of murdering Hassan Saab. — Reuter.

Rats thrive

BARCELONA has more rats than people, a city report said at the weekend. The rat population was put at 1.9 million against a human total of 1.7 million. — Reuter.

WHAT WEARS OUT FIRST WHEN YOU'VE GOT A TRINITRON TV?



It could be the castors. Or upholstery. Or stuffing. Most settees aren't built to last like Sony Trinitrons. Most sets aren't either. Look inside a normal TV next time the repairman's got the back off and you'll see why. The picture's produced by a stream of electron

beams shot from three guns through a slotted mask. If you think that piece of science sounds blindingly complicated, so do we. Sony's Trinitron system uses just one gun and a gadget called an 'Aperture Grille'. Quite simply it's designed to give a brighter,

sharper picture and generate less heat. Which means the tubes in our TV's won't burn out as fast as some others we could mention.

Just think. You can enjoy years of uninterrupted Trinitron viewing. Unless the springs in your sofa go.

SONY

Whatever will they think of next?

Crucial judgment today on
legality of detention orders

Durban fugitives set to stay on indefinitely

From Patrick Laurence
in Johannesburg

The three anti-apartheid fugitives still in the British Consulate in Durban have decided to remain there indefinitely after the arrest of their three fellow refugees on leaving the consulate on Saturday, Dr Farouk Meer, of the Natal Indian Congress, said yesterday.

But, Dr Meer added, they would review their decision after the judgment today of the Natal Supreme Court on an application for the detention orders against them to be declared unlawful.

The judgment will be critical also to their political comrades, Mr George Sempers, Mr Mewa Ramgobin, and Mr J. J. Naidoo, all members of the Natal Indian Congress, who were detained on Saturday under identical detention orders to those at issue in the Natal Supreme Court.

Three factors prompted the three men who left the Consulate at the weekend to do so, Dr Meer said.

One was to challenge the South African Government to send four South Africans charged with unlawfully exporting arms from Britain back to Britain to stand trial in Coventry on October 22.

When Pretoria announced its decision not to send the "Coventry Four" back last month, despite giving an undertaking to do so in a British court, it cited as its reason Britain's refusal to expel the six refugees from the Consulate or alternatively, to give the South African police permission to go in and arrest them.

The three Durban refugees detained at the weekend were due to appear in court last week on charges under the Internal Security Act, but the

charges were withdrawn at the last minute.

No reasons were given for the decision to withdraw the charges. But it was suggested in some circles that they were withdrawn because the court appearance would have deprived the South African authorities of their justification for not returning the Coventry Four.

A second factor for the "Durban's Three's" decision to leave the Consulate was to challenge the British contentions that the freeing of five detainees about 10 days ago and the lifting of banning orders on the rebel Afrikaner clergyman, Dr Beyers Naude, made it safe for the three to leave.

The British view was purportedly conveyed to legal representatives of the Durban refugees by Mr Graham Archer and Mr D. Tonkin, of the British Embassy. The arrest of the three on Saturday "made nonsense" of the British view, Dr Meer said yesterday.

The third factor behind the decision to leave was the belief that the United Democratic Front and the Natal Indian Congress could best achieve their objective of publicising their cause, and that of blacks in the troubled townships, by splitting their forces on a "three inside" the Consulate and a "three outside" basis.

Mr Archer said: "Our position remains that we won't force them out, but we hope that they will resolve the situation by leaving voluntarily."

Mr Archer denied that he or Mr Tonkin had told the refugees that it was safe for them to leave in view of the recent release of the five detainees and the lifting of Dr Naude's banning order.



● ANGER IN SOWETO: black students raise their fists after police open fire to break up a protest

Black youths challenge Pretoria's might

With at least 60 people dead in a month, township violence is becoming almost routine

From Patrick Laurence
in Johannesburg

THOUSANDS of black youths are today almost routinely challenging the authority of the state in dozens of townships throughout South Africa, often at the cost of their lives. The scale of the incidents is reminiscent of the 1976-7 disturbances in black townships.

At least 60 people have been killed in violent clashes in the past month, and scores more have been injured in townships stretching from the industrial heartland around Johannesburg, through the Vaal Triangle and across the usually politically somnolent Orange Free State, to the traditionally turbulent Eastern Cape. Some observers believe the death toll is far higher.

Troops yesterday joined police patrolling Soweto township as rioting continued. Police fired rubber bullets at black youths who attacked a patrol there.

Newspapers routinely report the township turmoil, but reports lack the sense of urgency which characterised reporting on the 1976-7 violence, in which at least 575 people were killed according to an official inquiry.

It seems that South Africans of all colours have learnt to live with low intensity politically-rooted violence in the townships in the same way that they have apparently accepted as "normal" the high crime rate in townships like Soweto, where more than 45 people were murdered in the past week.

But the insouciance with which the white public as a whole has reacted to the township unrest belies its importance. Dr Beyers Naude, the rebel Afrikaner clergyman whose banning order was lifted last week, after being arbitrarily sentenced for seven years, focused on a key factor in the present unrest: the preparedness of young blacks to defy the law and confront the police.

Dr Naude examined some of the differences between the unrest of 1976-7 and the latest rebellion.

Delivering the annual academic freedom lecture at the University of the Witwatersrand, Dr Naude said: "One difference is the growing willingness of many youths to be shot and to die—not because they want to be martyrs, but because in deep discussions and debate they have concluded that that may be the inevitable price they have to pay for themselves and for South Africa."

A salient feature of the unrest has been the physical and often murderous attacks on members of the controversial township councils. Established last year under the Black Local Authorities Act, the councils were offered to blacks as partial compensation for their exclusion from South Africa's new tri-racial constitution for whites, Coloureds, and Indians.

Judging from the low polls in last year's council elections, they were rejected by the overwhelming majority of township residents in much the same way as the Coloured

and Indian communities then, there have been several petrol bomb attacks on the various townships.

Popular pressure has brought about a partial collapse of the township council system, on which white indirect rule of the townships largely depends. In Randburg, near Johannesburg, the entire council has resigned, while in several more townships around Johannesburg and in the Vaal Triangle there have been a spate of resignations from individual councillors.

The result has been that the police have emerged nakedly as the upholders of "law and order" which, to politically conscious blacks, translates as white rule. It has brought the police face to face with black youths, many of whom are boycotting schools in protest against what they believe to be "Bantu education" in a new guise.

In the political idiom of militant blacks, Bantu education is synonymous with inferior education, as manifest in the lower per capita expenditure on black pupils, the lower qualifications of black teachers, the higher ratio of pupils to teachers and, perhaps above all, the high failure rate.

Last year, more than 50 per cent of black matriculation pupils failed to gain even a secondary school leaving certificate, a 2.5 per cent increase on the failure rate for the previous year. Less than 10 per cent obtained a university entrance pass.

A study by political scientists at Rand Afrikaans University last year showed that blacks felt more angry at the thought of tri-racial rule by whites, Coloureds, and Indians than at the prospect of continuing unracial white rule.

Their anger was presumably directed against all those who made the new constitution possible, including black councillors who accepted a limited form of local self-government in the townships as a substitute for representation for blacks in Parliament. Their anger was ignited by the decision of the Lekwa town council in the Vaal Triangle to raise house rents and service charges.

Whatever the precise sociology of the underlying causes for the hatred of the councilors, there is no mistaking its virulence. Four councillors were brutally murdered in the Vaal Triangle and several had to flee for their lives. Since

then, there have been several petrol bomb attacks on the various townships.

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France and Libya start to leave Chad

From Paul Webster
in Paris

Eight hundred French soldiers in front lines in central Chad began withdrawing last night as French intelligence learned that Libyan troops had started a mass withdrawal from northern areas of the former French colony.

Another 1,250 French soldiers among the 3,200 stationed in Chad for more than a year are also preparing to withdraw from forward positions to meet the mid-November pullout deadline agreed last month by France and Libya.

The French army began to pull out soon after the President of Chad, Mr Hissene Habré, left here for home saying that he felt reassured that Libyan backing for the rebel

forces of Mr Goukouni Oueddei was ending.

Mr Habré, who had been angered by France's failure to consult him before negotiating the pact, said he was very satisfied with his two days of talks here.

Mr Habré had flown here to meet President Mitterrand and three African heads of state involved in Chad peace talks after complaining that Libya was refusing to go. But soon after his arrival, there were reports of the start of a Libyan departure. The main French listening post in Central Africa reported that on Friday it had intercepted a message from Tripoli ordering all 5,000 Libyan troops to pull back from positions held since the rebel advance was stopped by the emergency French airlift in August, 1983.

The timing of the message suggests that new diplomatic pressure had been put on Libya after Mr Habré's arrival here.

French reconnaissance flights also show that Libyan ground-to-air missiles in the key rebel stronghold of Faya-Largeau were dismantled on Saturday.

As a result, French troops at Faya-Largeau were ordered to evacuate the town. Transport planes were flown in, but the French will depend mainly on the fleet of 200 vehicles at the oasis town 450 miles north-east of the capital, N'Djamena.

A transit camp has been built at N'Djamena, but the troops' final destination has not been made clear. Many are expected to move to neighbouring countries.

The Biltine withdrawal is expected to take a week and, in the meantime, another 1,250 French soldiers will prepare their withdrawal from bases including Abeche, Atti and Mousourou, where 800 men are stationed. The rest of the force is based in or near the capital.

However, defence officials here said that the withdrawal would be progressive and would only take place if matched by a Libyan pullout.

The main French problem is logistical, as there are 3,500 tons of equipment to be sent home, excluding vehicles. Most will be shipped through the Cameroon port of Douala.

Two Italians beheaded by guerrillas, boy witness says

Maputo: Two Italian technicians have been kidnapped and beheaded by rebels in southern Mozambique for allegedly repairing sabotaged power lines, according to an 11-year-old boy who said he was shown their bodies.

Domingos Macamo, who was also kidnapped by the guerrillas with his mother and four other Mozambicans, told a news conference here that the rebels showed them the decapitated bodies at a camp near Moamba in Maputo province.

The Security Minister Mr Sergio Vieira, said that the boy's story confirmed a rebel message intercepted by the

army saying that the Italians had been killed.

A spokesman for the Mozambique National Resistance (MNR) in Lisbon denied the claims, accusing the Macheli Government of killing the Italians and blaming the MNR for the action "to damage its image as a political organisation."

The boy identified the bodies after being shown photographs of Mr Leonardo del Vesovo, a geologist and a mining technician, Mr Alvisio Detoni, at the news conference.

Both worked on the Italian-financed Corumane Dam scheme near Moamba, about 55 miles north-west of Maputo. They disappeared on the road

between Corumane and Moamba on September 12.

Asked if the rebels had given any reason for killing the Italians, he said: "They told us the Italians had been repairing electricity lines which they had sabotaged."

He said that the Italians had offered money in exchange for their lives but the rebels killed them and took the money anyway.

Italy condemned what it called a brutal killing and warned that it would suspend its technical projects in Mozambique unless security was improved.

Italian officials are to travel to the dam site to examine the security situation.—Reuters.

Deng widens Peking door for foreign businessmen

From John Gittings
in Hong Kong

China's door to foreign capitalism will stay open for at least 50 years, Mr Deng Xiaoping has told a group of international bankers in Peking.

Offering much the same time-table as was recently extended to Hong Kong, the promoter of China's post-Mao economic reforms explained that it will take at least 50 years to "catch up with the developed countries", and perhaps even 30 years longer.

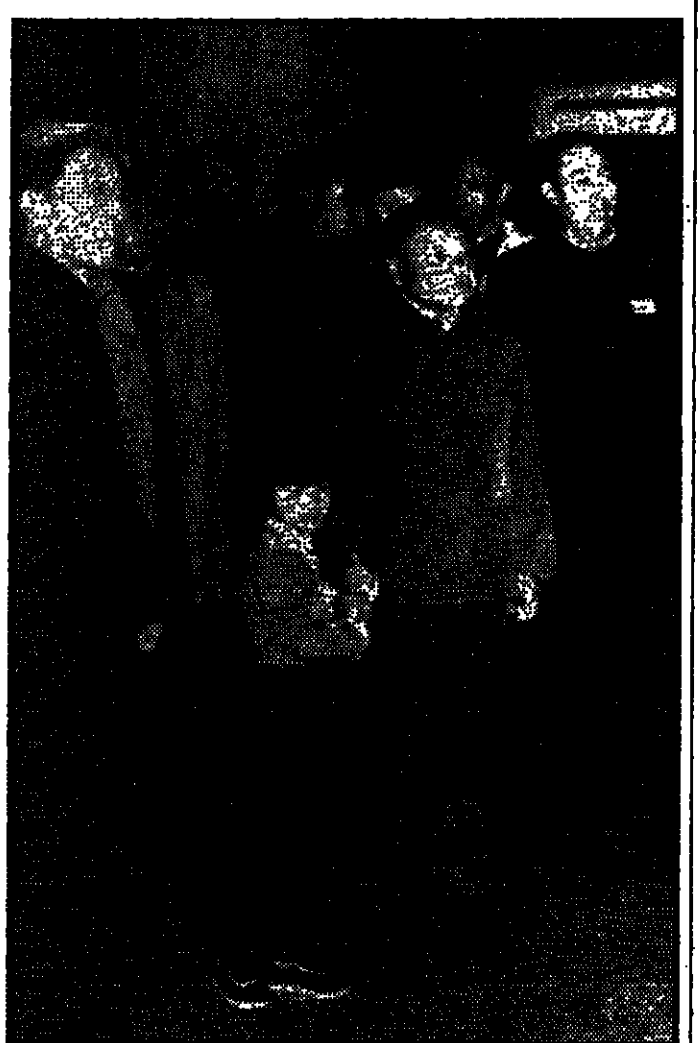
The bankers were attending a symposium sponsored by the China International Trust and Investment Corporation, which is run by a former capitalist, Mr Rong Yiren.

China also plans to introduce more incentives, including a possible tax cut to lure more foreign investment, Mr Gu Mu, a state councillor, told the bankers. The 30-year time limit on joint ventures requiring heavy investment might be extended, he said, and the 15 per cent tax rate on enterprises using foreign capital in 14 coastal cities may be cut.

Those attending the symposium include the former British defence secretary, Sir John Nott, president of the French company, Aerospatiale, Mr Jacques Mitterrand, and leading bankers from West Germany, the US, Canada, Australia, and Japan.

Important targets in China often have fairly arbitrary time-tables. Mr Deng's calculations are based on the earlier date of the year 2001 (originally set by Mao Tse-tung) for achieving basic economic strength plus at least an extra 35 years to become a fully developed country. Only then, Mr Deng said rather artlessly, might the open-door policy come to an end.

Meanwhile, China has announced that, starting next year, the state planning authorities will reduce the number of industrial products for which they fix production targets by half from more than 120 to 60. They will also



NEW TARGETS: China's leader, Mr Deng Xiaoping, inspects Peking's Underground project

stop fixing planned purchase requirements for a range of nearly 300 agricultural products.

The targets will either be replaced by guidelines, or production will be left to market forces.

A similar shift has recently taken place in the scope allowed to local foreign trade corporations in China. Except for a few key commodities and

factories, they may now negotiate directly with the outside world.

This in turn reverses a shift earlier this year back to more centralised control by the 14 national foreign trade corporations in Peking. The shift appeared to have led to a dispute between reform-minded economic experts and more cautious advocates of state control.

Six are killed in Indian sectarian clashes

New Delhi: Curfews were in force in several Indian towns yesterday after a wave of sectarian clashes in which six people were killed and more than 28 injured, the Press Trust of India news agency reported.

At Nagda, in the central state of Madhya Pradesh, a 24-hour curfew was extended until today after three people died in a riot between Hindu and Muslim violence on Friday night, PTI said. The fighting erupted during religious festivals celebrated by Hindus and Muslims.

In Srinagar, capital of the northern state of Jammu and Kashmir, Muslims called off processions marking their mourning day of Ashura after

a woman was killed and three other people were hurt in street violence on Thursday.

Reinforcements of armed police were brought into the districts in the north-eastern state of Uttar Pradesh following a bomb attack on a Hindu procession. One person was killed and four were wounded.

All India Radio reported that armed police were also sent to Belgaum in the southern state of Karnataka, where for the third day running all businesses and shops stayed shut.

Eight policemen were hurt when rival groups pelted each other with stones during a Hindu procession in Amravati town in the western state of Maharashtra on Friday night.

in violent confrontation was defused when businessmen applied for and received a permit for the march from the president.

Security forces were said to have been put on alert but paramilitary constabulary made no appearance near the march although extra security was evident in roads leading to the president's palace, which was the scene of a violent confrontation on September 22.

Cardinal Jaime Sin, addressing a congregation at mass before the march started, avoided reference to politics and concentrated on a spiritual message emphasising the virtues of peace and forgiveness.

His cautious, low-key address was a disappointment to some of his audience—"terrible," one nun said on emerging from the church. But it seemed to be an attempt to ease political tension and deflect charges of meddling in politics and violating the constitution, which had been levied at him by President Marcos.

But an additional effect of yesterday's rally, analysts believe, will be to give new impetus to street demonstrations at a time of rising tension as the Philippines awaits publication of a report by the official board investigating the murder of the opposition leader, Benigno Aquino, in August, 1983.

President Marcos warned last week that illegal rallies would be dispersed by the security forces. But fears that yesterday's march would end

Karachi violence 'leaves five dead'

Karachi: Troops sealed off slum areas in Karachi yesterday to curb Muslim sectarian violence after clashes in which at least five people were reported killed and about 300 injured.

Sporadic fighting was reported here for the second day running, despite a strict curfew in parts of the city during the protests. Police said about a fifth of the city's seven million people were confined to their homes in the north-eastern suburbs, where troops stopped them from even shopping for food.

The deaths, reported by hospital sources, were later and directly confirmed by the Sind provincial government, which said it had appointed a High

Court judge to inquire into the unrest "resulting in loss of human life and damage to property." Its statement, published by the official news agency, gave no details of deaths or damage.

The hospital sources said three of those killed were shot or stabbed and the other two died when a bank beneath their flat was set ablaze.

In Rawalpindi, troops and police were said to have used teargas to break up a Shi'a protest yesterday, and a local Shi'a leader and some of his followers were reported arrested. The Shi'as, who earlier set fire to an army jeep, had blocked traffic in protest against the attacks on Shi'as.—Reuters.

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March peaceful as Manila tension rises

From Nicholas Cummings-Bruce
in Manila

Large crowds marched through Manila yesterday for a peaceful rally to protest against the violent breaking up of anti-Government demonstrations last month.

The march which drew groups of militant leftwingers marching under numerous red banners, opposition leaders from the parliament of the streets and the elected Parliament, together with representatives of big business, was intended to display the breadth of the opposition to President Marcos.

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in violent confrontation was defused when businessmen applied for and received a permit for the march from the president.

Security forces were said to have been put on alert but paramilitary constabulary made no appearance near the march although extra security was evident in roads leading to the president's palace, which was the scene of a violent confrontation on September 22.

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At a news conference on Saturday, Cardinal Sin rebutted what he called "slandering accusations" by Mr Marcos that he had encouraged rebellion and violence.

Cardinal Sin has been a persistent but very careful critic of President Marcos. His encouragement last week to businessmen leaders get to get into the streets and demonstrate, observers conclude, was prompted by concern at the danger posed to the present political order by Mr Marcos's refusal to surrender any power or compromise with demand for reform. Cardinal Sin is believed to have been anxious to strengthen the moderate voice in the so-called parliament of the streets.

At his news conference the cardinal urged Mr Marcos "to take those moral and political steps, even at great personal sacrifice, that will restore stability and integrity to our country."

A meeting between Cardinal Sin and President Reagan last month has fuelled speculation that the church leader has been acting with the blessing of the United States Government, also frustrated with Mr Marcos's resistance to reform. Members of Mr Marcos's rul-

ing New Society Movement yesterday called for legislation to define more clearly the relations between Church and State and to set out the penalties for violations. But the matter of Church-State relations is overshadowed by and may be intended as a diversion from the overall national preoccupation with the long-awaited verdict of the inquiry into Aquino's murder.

Public interest in the report to be published soon by the board of inquiry has been stimulated by recent leaks to the newspapers by board members making clear that they will refute the military's assertion that Mr Aquino was murdered by a Communist gunman. The leaks say they will charge instead that he was killed in a military conspiracy.

But the underlying concern is that public disappointment with either the findings of the board or the response to them from President Marcos may trigger angry protest with the danger, highlighted by the police tactics last month, that they will develop into renewed violence.

Cash for the West Bank dwindles

Cuts in aid funds have hit the Palestinians. Now the Arab countries are being asked to dig more deeply into their coffers.

From Ian Black
in Amman

FROM BEHIND a large desk in his office in Amman, Mr Shawkat Mahmoud, the Jordanian Minister for Occupied Territories Affairs, has a fine view of a painting that symbolises, in a crude and rather garish way, the difficulties and challenges of his job.

The painting, sandwiched between an engraving of the Al Aqsa mosque in Jerusalem and an official portrait of King Hussein, depicts a bearded and muscular young man, a Palestinian young man, shaking his head at a red, star of David on its breast, gobbling voraciously at his liver.

Behind this ugly creature is perched another smaller bird, black, sinister and impassive, watching the antics of the struggling hero. Its feathers bear the symbol of the US dollar.

"Yes, this picture is from the West Bank," Mr Mahmoud said proudly. So is the engraving of Al Aqsa, and the silver plaque from the United Nations Palestinian Charitable Organisations, thanking him for his efforts on their behalf.

Of all the images in the painting, it is the dollar sign that must cross the minister's mind most frequently. For it is Mr Mahmoud's job to look after the financial support that Jordan gives to the West Bank and Gaza, to determine priorities and to help keep 1.3 million Palestinians on their land despite the pressure of 17 years of Israeli occupation.

The money, quite simply, is starting to run out. After the Camp David accord in 1978, the Baghdad Arab summit conference pledged \$100 million a year in "steadfastness funds" for the people of the occupied territories. But instead of the \$200 million that should have passed through Mr Mahmoud's office in the last two years, only \$27 million have been received.

Some countries, like Libya, have given nothing. Others have made donations but not enough. Saudi Arabia is still a generous donor while other Gulf countries are feeling the strain of paying for Iraq's endless war with Iran and boosting their own defences because of the conflict. A joint Jordanian-Palestinian delegation is to leave Amman on a fund-raising tour later this month to persuade the Arab states to put their money where their mouths are.

"This has had a very bad influence on the steadfastness of the people living under occupation," Mr Mahmoud said. "We have had to make big cuts in the funds allocated for housing and for agriculture and also in the money going to municipal services. We used to give loans for individual productive projects when we had money. But now there is none left for that. That's why we are going to the Arab countries."

Although there are difficulties, most of the cash that does cross the river Jordan is either ignored by the Israelis or simply transferred in ways that they cannot stop as long as the policy of "open bridges" continue.

The obstacles that the Israelis create are a problem," the minister said, "but the lack of money is much more serious."

Mr Mahmoud's job embraces all Jordanian state aid to the West Bank and to Palestinian refugees living in the East Bank as well. Half of his work, though, is shared with the other Jordanian government representatives and senior PLO officials who sit together on the joint Jordanian-Palestinian committee.

The committee is the single most important result of the slow rapprochement between the Hashemite Kingdom and the PLO that has helped heal the wounds of the bloody civil war of 1970 and 1971.

It is also in the absence of any progress towards a political solution, the only area where Jordanians and Palestinians can work together to do something concrete for their common cause.

Despite the worrying lack of hard cash, the committee generally operates smoothly, according to officials here. They dismiss as attempts by the Israelis to discredit its work and deny stories of waste, feathering and embezzlement, although there are West Bankers who have complained of partiality in the disbursement of funds.

Mr Mahmoud, naturally enough, will have nothing to do with such claims. "The Jordanian-Palestinian committee," he insists, "gives its support to national institutions and not to individuals in the West Bank. It gives priority to agriculture, housing, education, social development and the municipalities."

السلامة والهدوء

The Audi 100 has just been given the highest rating of any car by a leading consumer magazine.

As reported in The Times 5th October 1984.

West German cars, Volkswagen, Audis and BMWs, get the warmest praise and Italian Fiats and Lancias are criticized in the latest ~~published~~ published today.

Of the British-made cars the Jaguar XI is rated "very impressive", the Vauxhall Astra and Cavalier and the Ford Granada are "good buys" but the Rover SD1 is considered "unreliable".

The guide's view of Japanese cars ranges from cool for the Mitsubishi, to only middling for the rest, with the exception of the Honda Accord, the Mazda 626 and the Nissan Sunny, which are recommended.

The Eastern block cars are badly: the soviet Lada saloon is not recommended, the Czechoslovak Skoda is "a poor buy".

The verdict: "outstanding".

the highest-rating of all goes to the Audi 100. The new improved VW Golf and the Polo are recommended and the VW Jetta is "a good buy".

The BMW series is rated "impressive" and the others good, although cramped in the back.

Of the cheaper Fiats, only one, the Uno, stands up to competition, says. They have a poor record for rust and reliability. The Fiat E26 and Strada models are not recommended. Buyers are warned against the older Mirafiori.

The Austin Morris cars are "less reliable" than the more expensive models. The popular Metro is "improved, except for reliability", and the new hatchback is "very roomy" and "reliable". The Fiat Marina is "cheap and troublesome".

Unfortunately we can't tell you which.



Francis Pym

"Broad in its view."
The strike is primarily political: on that ground alone it must be defeated. Arthur Scargill's tactics of no ballot coupled with violence on the picket lines cannot be justi-

I have long argued the need for the Government to show far more imagination over unemployment and to construct a strategy that will enable the country to come to terms with the wholly new situation that is developing. Failure to see the need for such a strategy, let alone construct one, has made this strike more difficult to resolve than it could have been. We ought to hear more

The scenes of fighting between the police and the pickets are awful to see, and must be having a thoroughly bad effect on many children watching. In other words this strike is a grievous self-inflicted wound upon our country, and it cannot end too soon.

"Constructive in debate."
We need to point out to the nation not only the dangers of the strike but also the choices facing us, the possible ways of handling the strike and the alternative courses of action. Even though we all want the strike defeated, negative action alone is not enough. There must be constructive ideas both for handling the strike, and for dealing with the problems we shall face when it is finally over.

We should take a fresh look at the coal industry and

In this connection the language used about the strike by politicians and others is profoundly important and directly relevant to the vital task of healing the wounds afterwards and uniting the

The arguments surrounding the strike should be fully presented there, again and again. That in itself would enhance the unity of the nation just as it did at the time of the Falklands war. And Parliament is the right forum in which to debate every idea and proposal for ending the strike however bright or however dark.

In addition, because of the gravity of events, the Prime Minister should speak to the

Francis Pym is the Conservative MP for Cambridgeshire South East. This is an edited extract of a speech delivered at the Cambridge Evening News literacy lunch in Cambridge last Thursday.



Frances Young

In 1985 the University of Natal in Pietermaritzburg will celebrate 75 years of existence. The department of religious studies is planning a three-day conference as its contribution to the celebrations.

And if I am to do that I must make it as effective as possible by doing it publicly.

Dr Frances Young is an ordained Methodist minister and senior lecturer in theology at the University of Birmingham.



Geoffrey Bindman

Does Sir

Teddy Taylor

Geoffrey Bindman is a solicitor.



WILLIAM WINPISINGER

Survival of free trade

credit for dampening the flames. A scant four years

Not the 10 million still unemployed who have no

Not those 900,000 who've

William Winpisinger is the President of the International Association of Machinists and Aerospace Workers

and the conference was intended to sharpen the struggle to make sense of the fact that good does not

Teddy Taylor

And there will be those
who will argue that there's

The sheer magnitude of the achievement shows up when we consider the previous failures. The first attempt came at the Stuttgart summit. Knowing how keen the French, Italians and Russians were on the Common Agricultural Policy, Britain agreed that we would not seek any major reform in

But although the Continentals welcomed our Solemn Declaration, they still declined to pay the 1983 rebate.

Then it was the turn of the sturdy Agriculture Minister, Michael Jopling. Spurred on by the advice of that section of the Treasury which still believes that three ap-

The wizards of the Treasury and Downing Street combined to agree a two part programme designed to get the rebate released. Part One involved giving the Common Market something it had wanted for a long time—a massive increase in

But then came the nastiest blow of all. The European Assembly in Strasbourg, which normally attracts as much interest as Civil Service Rovers playing Ponds of Dagenham Shop Stewards Athletic Club on a wet Saturday afternoon, used its reserve budgetary power to block the payment of the rebate.

In one fell swoop, Britain's negotiators had achieved a situation hen £120 million of our 1983 rebate was guaranteed absolutely—and no Council of nasty European Foreign Ministers and no silly Strasbourg Assembly could do a thing about it. And in a firm display of strength, of which Wellington and Nelson would be

Come to think of it, the formula could sort out my humble bank overdraft problem.

Teddy Taylor is Conservative MP for Southend East.

And if I am to do that I must make it as effective as possible by doing it publicly.

Dr Frances Young is an ordained Methodist minister and senior lecturer in theology at the University of Birmingham.

Nancy Banks-Smith reviews the South Bank Show and Blue Money

Private on parade

THE pig, looking out of the window, had her back leg extended in an exquisite line from magnificent child-bearing hips to an uncommonly neat little ankle. I shall look at a bodied ham with bared head in future, remembering that grand jeté.

The first South Bank Show of autumn (LWT) directed by David Hinton was devoted to Alan Bennett, and, peripherally, the pig which appears in his first feature film, *A Private Function*. That's a terrible name. The pig's name is Betty like Lauren Bacall whom, in other respects it does not resemble. Betty is kidnapped, of course. This is par for the course for pigs in English literature. From the Piper's son to the swine who stole Bill, Ben and "As-sorted pigs" from the Woodentops, the natural instinct of any free-born Englishman confronted with a pig is to lure it from its rightful owner with honeyed words and stick it in the spare bedroom.

Betty had two men in attendance, which is over-manning, though leading ladies don't think so. "They represent opposite attitudes to education," mused Bennett. "Carnegie believes in understanding the pig whereas George is quite authoritarian and believes the pig will do as it's told. Actually the pig doesn't take much notice of either. The thing is you have to feed it all the time. If you feed it enough potato peels it will probably play Mendelssohn's Violin Concerto."

The spare bedroom seethed. There was Betty acting. Gerry, cajoling. George insisting some 175 others and a director, schooled in the handling of leading ladies who called out "Well done, Betty!" at the end of a take.

It was the only time Bennett appeared en masse. He seems most at home in huge, cold, municipal buildings, apparently after closing time, where he sits perfectly still with the dust settling gently on him. He is the author most likely to be locked in a library. Harold Wilson found it impossible to believe that Bennett was one of the four performers in *Beyond the Fringe*. Well, I don't remember yet, but he is the author with a wit and a wit. "Are you sure?"

Bennett's invisibility was invaluable when he sat as a child listening to the way northern women talk. "They want reporting," said Albert Modley, gnashing his gums over some imagined slight in a Bennett play. Want in the north doesn't mean what you want but what you are going to get. In Bennett they got what they wanted.

"Goddam gaiety everywhere you look," says Beth Porters as buttoned-up barmaid in *Blue Money* (LWT). And said thereby, a jocular, for *Blue Money* seems to be written out of a yeasty excess of gaiety, bubbling up and bubbling over. It is a picaresque precipitated by Larry, an Irish impressionist, who pinches half a million left by a sly South American ("No jokes, no songs, no chat") on the back seat of his hired cab. A man with such an ingrained prejudice against jokes, songs and chat has no place in *Blue Money*, which is nothing but.

It reminds me of that action-packed period after a particularly shaggy dog has been shamed and the air is filled with water droplets and the noise of pursuit. The pace is frenetic, the company colourful, notably John Bird, having a spectacular heart attack, and Billy Connolly, bickering with an indelible doll, Big Olga, which he deflates with north-of-the-border noises.

Written by Stewart Parker — who wrote my favourite TV play of all time *Traveller*, Montreal, for Tim Curry, who is in his element. Or as his friend Brogan, the only living Latin speaker would put it, "in ex-celsis". *Blue Money* is the first thing London Weekend have produced to justify their recent surprising claim to be entertaining. It is perhaps 10 minutes too long. But everything in life is 10 minutes too long. Including life.

Fossils in a landscape



Patrick Jenkin: "I know what I like"

LONG ago, when the Department of the Environment was a twinkle in the eye of the Ministry of Public Building and Works, the senior politician in charge of architecture was a man concerned with expediting the output of new buildings.

"Just as when an airfield was needed in the war there were no protracted negotiations with landowners," explained Nye Bevan to the House of Commons in 1945. "so we will have no protracted negotiations with landlords for getting houses."

And the same applied to schools, hospitals, factories, universities and polytechnics for 30 years afterwards. Now things are different, and through the terminology, and organisational sea-change that has taken place since the oil war, the three-day week and the great inflation, a different kind of politician altogether has come to assume the vast powers bequeathed by post-war recovery.

The Right Honourable Patrick Jenkin, MP, member for Redbridge (Wanstead and Woodbridge division), is a fine exemplar of the new type — and a man concerned with the one hand with terminating the GLC and the metropolitan counties — and on the other with the aesthetic significance of a picture gallery at the top left-hand corner of Trafalgar Square.

The remarkable thing is not so much that he combines these duties — Napoleon after all could dictate five letters at a time and Hitler, although the comparison would be disgraceful in any other connection, contemplated the detailed reconstruction of Linz from his bunker of doom but that in the present contorted state of British politics the two roles appear to be of equal importance.

At 58 Patrick Jenkin has spent one-third of his life in parliament, and nearly all of that as a minister or spokesman for the Treasury, the Social Services, the Department of Energy and now the environment itself, for which he took over responsibility from Michael Heseltine in June 1983.

As befits a man who has lived with the massive handicap of having once advised the nation to clean its teeth in the dark to save energy, Jenkin is cautious about declarations of personal taste. But asked earlier this year by the Architect's Journal who was his favourite architect, he replied, "I know nothing about architecture but I know what I like." Adding — "Not as an afterthought — but that's off the record."

Pressed further he admitted to being overwhelmed by the Huxley Regency in Atlanta: "A huge space, lifts in glass, tears almost started to my eyes." That was the work of an acknowledged master, the Truman Capote of the profession in America, John Portman.

But the same thing has happened in England when, overseeing the environment in Chesterfield: "I came round a corner and I said, 'This is exquisite.'" It

Is conservation the only Conservative policy for architecture? Martin Fawley reports

was the Pavements shopping centre by Elsom Pack and Roberts, an achievement in the design of the kind better evaluated in the shadow of the Queen Mary in Long Beach or at Disney World.

There is no reason why the Secretary of State for the Environment should not be bowled over by a soaring atrium, or transfixed by the sight of a thriving retail centre disguised as a set for Robin Hood. No reason either why, in the same interview, he should not have inveighed against the Guy's Hospital tower; "Dracula's tower would have been a better name," and stumbled over the pronunciation of Miles van der Rohe — a bad portent for Mr Palumbo here.

Jenkin is not a patron of architecture as was Michael Heseltine, who showed a keen eye for the coming classical revival by commissioning work from Quinlan Terry. He is certainly not an enlightened patron like Lord Carrington, who commissioned housing from Peter Aldington, one of the very best architects in the country and a man whose name is disgracefully unknown outside the profession.

Instead he is a politician "tempering the wind," in his own curious phrase, "against the long term trend."

which probably means taking advice on the reorganisation of local government and the extension of home ownership from one source, and on the aesthetics of carbuclers and glass stamps from another. Not for nothing did he quip at the RIBA's "last supper" at Hampton Court that the Prince of Wales had settled three major planning decisions for him already.

The Conservative Party has of course no policy on architecture as such — any more than does the Labour Party or the Alliance — such interesting displacement activities still lie in the future. But in the absence of the massive social building programmes of the fifties, sixties and seventies, there does appear to be a remorseless tendency for conservation and historicism to occupy the yawning hole they left.

True the Prime Minister has been seen driving a Lotus and proudly declaiming the high-tech wizardry of the Richard Rogers Impos factory in Wales, but these are merely gestures for the benefit of dynamic entrepreneurs and young designers who have the same damnable 10 and told how dramatically they can alter the balance of payments by adding value through styling.

The essential Tory heart-

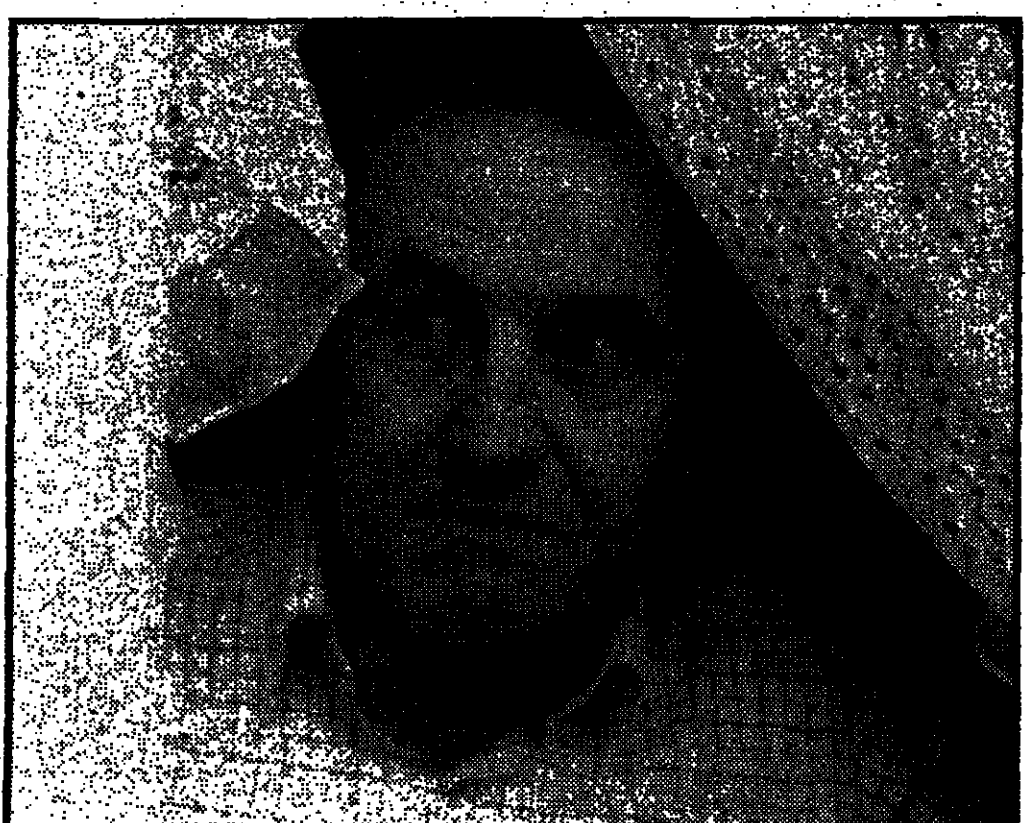
land of architecture lies in the refurbished country house and the heritage town centre. Although the director general of design services at the Property Services Agency, Patrick Jenkin's most senior architectural advisor, is ex-RIBA president Bryan Jefferson, known in the profession as "an industry man" — which means he made his name in the era of production — and 500,000 houses a year — there can be little doubt that strident conservationists like Country Life editor Marcus Binney and Boer War veteran Gavin Stamp have much greater influence.

For the conservationists environmental issues are simple, and thus easy for politicians to understand and, more importantly, defend. In an era of retrenchment when the replacement rate of buildings has fallen to Edwardian levels it is comforting to regard the 20 million houses in Britain, the eight million factories, seven million office buildings, and so on, as so much money in the bank. For a Treasury man like Patrick Jenkin the concept of heritage must resemble that of capital and the idea of producing new buildings have the same dangerous overtones as that of printing money.

The conservationists, who have already succeeded in

having 500,000 buildings "listed" that is placed in a kind of time warp where they must be protected forever at whatever cost — see the built environment as a treasure house of structures that can be adapted to virtually any purpose. Only in this light can their wide-ranging, not to say insane series of options for Battersea power station be understood. The whole thing would be anthropologically interesting if it were not also tragic — Homo Conservatus roving through a "natural" landscape of old buildings, much as primitive man wandered through the natural world before he learned to reorganise it.

But architectural ideas, whether for the endless propping up of ruins or the creation of streets in the air, are more nothingness unless they have political utility. In this respect, for Patrick Jenkin who is this morning presenting the annual Royal Institute of Chartered Surveyors/the Times conservation awards, the past has become the future. The future itself, in the shape of modern architecture and the construction industry, is already reduced to appealing over the head of the Secretary of State for the Environment to the Chancellor of the Exchequer for permission to build again.



Leonard Rossiter in *Semi-Detached*—picture by Peter Johns

Michael Billington recalls the special art of Leonard Rossiter

Tunnel visionary

Brechtian principle that "the actor must make himself observed standing between the spectator and the text." The play translates Hitler into a demonic Al Capone gangster; but Rossiter's constant showing the fear and absurdity behind the mask of brutality.

On his first entrance he burst like a clown through a paper-screen, spilling the left leg of a brown paper clowning obstinately to his teeth: immediately we saw that UI was a man who could never live up to his mental image

of himself. Like Chaplin in *The Great Dictator*, Rossiter made evil funny. His superb performance also, for the first time in Britain, made Brecht popular at the box office. Arthur UI was a hard act to follow. And for some time Rossiter seemed to be casting around for a vehicle to contain his outside talents. He did, however, essay Richard III at Nottingham in 1971 and a year later was a brilliant Davies in *The Caretaker* at the Merald, offering a radical alternative to Pleasence's original creation.

Rossiter gave us a cawing, predatory scarecrow-figure aspiring to class: his voice was pseudo-gentle and when a dirty, dust-covered counterpane was thrust into his mitts he handled it with the visible distaste of a Pheasant dowager.

Rossiter wasn't simply a superbly inventive comic actor. He was also very good at playing social upstarts. His portrayal of Rookby in *Chaplin's The Tramp* at the Box at Hampstead in 1973 (with Frances de la Tour) gave birth to the TV series, *Rising Damp*.

I also remember him at the Old Vic in 1976 in Feydeau's *The Purgers* as a toiletware manufacturer with delusions of grandeur ("Today France — tomorrow the world") dreaming wistfully of models decorated with the Cross of Lorraine. And in the same year at Greenwich he turned Molière's Tartuffe into a dandified arriviste running a carefully kept little inn along the lacy fringes of Elmire's bosom as if looking for faults in the workmanship.

In recent years, *Rising Damp* and *The Rise and Fall of Reginald Perrin* turned Rossiter into a household name. But TV stardom in no way blunted his great comic capacity for playing men who were prey to some unworkable obsession. In Michael Frayn's *Make and Break* in 1980 he played a workaholic executive who couldn't even take off a girl's shoe in the course of seduction without squinting at the brand-name; yet there was also a hint of tragedy about his determination to discover what it was his colleagues found in Buddhism or Beethoven that eluded him.

And Rossiter died at his peak playing Joe Orton's Inspector Truscott as a slightly dim suburban sleuth. Rossiter was an instinctive freelance who eschewed the security of the big national companies which is sad since there were many classic roles one would have loved to see him play. But he leaves behind a wealth of film and TV work (*Tripper's Day* is currently going out on ITV, his BBC *King John* is still to come).

He leaves us with the ineradicable memory of an actor who could show the monstrosity lurking inside ordinary men and who could conjure up suburban demons. Great comic acting is often about single-mindedness and Rossiter conveyed better than anyone I know the tunnel-vision of the truly possessed.

BIRMINGHAM

Gerald Larner

LSO/Abbado

THE Shell LSO Tour brought the London Symphony Orchestra to Birmingham with a quite different programme from the Assembly of display pieces it presented elsewhere. Beginning with Mendelssohn's *Midsummer Night's Dream* overture and ending no more remarkably with the same composer's *Italian Symphony*, the concert was inevitably focussed on the Mozart concerto in the middle.

With Rudolf Serkin as soloist this was exactly as it should be. Anticipating some orchestral show piece later in the programme an audience might easily underestimate Serkin's performance. A superficial hearing might give an impression of a pianist presenting Mozart quite clearly and quite literally (except where convention demands some discreet decoration) and, bearing in mind

his 80 years, making not too many mistakes.

On closer examination, however, there is a peculiarly subtle rubato, a fractionally prolonged first beat of the bar or a scarcely perceptible hesitation, which gives life to a line without disturbing. Another rare aspect of Serkin's performance of the Concerto in E flat, K452, was his uncanny ability to achieve such a precise blend and balance of his own sound with that of the orchestra not only in the runs colouring the melodic interest in the woodwind but also in the long and potentially embarrassing unison of piano and violins in the last movement.

In spite of the scarcely reduced orchestra (six basses, for example instead of eight), Claudio Abbado conducted a most sensitive accompaniment to Rudolf Serkin in the Mozart. As for his Mendelssohn that wasn't overweight either. It was vivacious in rhythm and clean in sound, disappointing only in the unlikely expectation of some special illumination.

EXETER

Nicolas Cottis

Educating

Rita

EDUCATING Rita is a boxing match of a play — punchy scenes for two in which a boozey lecturer and a saucy student trade verbal aggression and work their way ruefully out of the clutches. The production at the Northcott Theatre, Exeter, weighs in a pound or two heavy in its staging. Rather than sit out the tedious run of punctuating their tutorials, I would like to have seen the actors—Jiggy Bore and David Kincaid—matched up on the stage within a stage of the last production, *The Lady's Not For Burning*, and watch them re-

tire to the corners between every round for a split and a towelling and a total suspension of dramatic illusion.

When Rita gazes around the book-lined study and falls in love with its style, it would have been enough to have imagined her through her imagination. Jiggy Bore's acting would have given that vision easily. And it would have been all right for the production to have revealed it as actor's craft, for Rita is a creature of daydreams, one of the Holy Grailists, compared with such flesh and blood heroes of the literature of education as Jude the Obscure and Beatie Bryant in *Roots*.

David Kincaid's Scottish accent lends itself to this contrast, as it does to the tutor's comfortable addiction to the whisky bottle — there's no drunk like a Scot. His subtle playing under Zoe Hicks's direction leaves no doubt as to which person on stage is actually learning, and which one loves talking about it.

The joyous nasal switch-back ride of Jiggy Bore's *liverpudlian* is a work of art and her vitality is a knockout. What else would you expect with a rising Cassius Clay in one corner and a weary Mohammed Ali in the other?

CARDIFF

Robin Lyons

Diversions

DESPITE a change of name, and extravagant claims in the programme notes, *Diversions* (formerly *Jumpers*) remains disappointing. They should have everything going for them. They received a hefty subsidy from the Welsh Arts Council; in Perry, Douglas and John Wesley Taylor they had

acquired two strong dancers with potential sparkle; and they have a sense of organisation and clarity which other companies might envy. What they do not seem to have is the ability to communicate, and those few people who have watched them at the Sherman Theatre, the weekend must have wondered what the moving of limbs and swaying of bodies was all about.

Most of the blame must lie with the choreography. Roy Campbell-Moore's new work, *Quartet*, is best appreciated with closed eyes. It is hard to think of any successful dance choreographed to Beethoven, and here the somnolent walking and rolling on the floor, the spiralling gestures, seem merely an attempt to wallow in one of the emotions of the late Quartet. A giant tapestry, draped over a motif that looked like an old fashioned tin opener, added little to our enjoyment.

Some of the other works are scarcely more successful. *Slip Jig* has been too long in the repertoire, and looks very tired. Dawn Thomas's new costumes, and lively performances from the male dancers, have brought new energy to *No Name Jive*, but *Blue Echo* could really have been abandoned by now. Its strange, bubbling sound track, sphinx-like cut-out, and mysterious wriggles suggest three people struggling with dysentery on a trip to Cairo.

In this dull setting, only *Junctions*, a new piece by local dancer June Campbell, has any sparkle. This is an extensive re-working of an earlier piece made for Dance Wales. Some of the original punch has gone and the basic vocabulary offers little that is new. But it has a sense of rhythmic excitement and a sustained energy that elicits an immediate response.

Diversions are to promote an idea, dance as exciting, dramatic, emotional or humorous they need many more pieces like this. At the moment, there is a danger that new audiences might dismiss the art form as a mere positioning of limbs.

SWANSEA

David Adams

Government Inspector

THE transposition of satirical situations from other times and places to Wales has become something of a trend, which Russian plays the favourite victims. So William Ingram's free adaptation of Gogol's classic to a South Wales setting isn't that novel though last year's tales of municipal corruption add extra relief.

The Government Inspector opened at the new Taliesin Arts Centre, a mile or so away from Swansea's centre. Four all over Wales, I suspect it will seem even less amusing in Harlech and points north. Stripped of local innuendo, it's a broad farce played with no attempt at subtlety by a Made in Wales company that is here noticeably weak on acting.

The play opens with a tableau caricature of the council members. It needs the like of Howell Evans to make the exaggerated playing genuinely funny, and really only his dog, which looks a lot better than at best an SAC soap opera and at worst an am-drama. That difficulty of playing larger-than-life figures of fun dominates Gareth Armstrong's production, and meant that the moralistic tinting of the audience at the end was that much more difficult to swallow.

Don't blame the mirror if your face is lopsided" was Gogol's epigraph to *The Government Inspector* but in this version that mirror seems too deliberately distorted. The home truths are all but lost.

The Royal Opera

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TEA IN A CHINA CUP

CHRISTINA REID
JAMES AIDAN
THERESA BODEN
MARGARET DARCY
RITA DAVIES
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TEA IN A CHINA CUP

Queues are a serious problem, complaints are increasing, services deteriorating, costs rising — perhaps it is time the Post Office should make up its mind to be either public service or commercial enterprise



Polly Tynbee

MRS M will be 82 at Christmas. She was standing in the queue at the post office that curled three times round the room and out of the door, at 9.30 in the morning. Under her pink and orange hat she beamed from ear to ear. "You'd never guess I was that old! Well, I feel my age in here, I can tell you. In recent months she has fainted three times in this main Clapham High Street post office. The sub-post office where she used to collect her pension in Clapham Old Town closed down in August.

Now she has a half hour walk across the Common from Macclesfield Road once a week. When she gets to the post office, sometimes someone offers to keep her place in the queue, while she sits down on one of the three seats. But today the seats are all filled with other pensioners. The queue has 58 people in it as she joins on the end. A little later it stretches out to over 70.

In that long and dismal line are mainly people waiting to cash social security giro, sad looking men, or one parent family women with fractious small children. A woman in a wet headscarf with two children, "We waited here nearly two hours some days. What else can you do?" Her eighteen-month-old, clung to her jacket and whined miserably. The woman in front of her turned round and joined in. They have all those windows there, yet I've never seen more than three open, however, long the queues are. Others in the line joined in vociferously, angry but

impotent as the queue inched forwards in a barely perceptible shuffle.

"It's worst Mondays and Thursdays. Oh but Fridays are terrible, terrible. What about Tuesday mornings?" "I can't come any other time. Have to come as soon as I get the giro." A home help protested vigorously. "It's all right for you, you only come once a week. I have to come eight times, to collect pensions for the old people I look after. Think of that, eight times a week in this queue. And all that time being wasted when I could be doing something useful."

Between the pensioners and the social security clients were people waiting to buy stamps. "I've got to get this letter off. It can't wait," said a young man, fidgeting crossly. The stamp machine's not working, though very little in terms of how many people come to the post office, but an increase in the length of time taken for each pensioner's transaction at the windows.

But this post office has become an outlet for its savers. But why on earth should any company in its right mind wish to use the post office as its shop window, when it is notoriously bad at delivering the services it already controls?

Why, unlike the rest of Europe, does the Post Office keep its monopoly on the sale of stamps? Why can't the public go into any news agency and buy stamps? Technically there's nothing to stop small shops doing so, but unlike every other country, the Post Office will pay them no agency fee for this service, so of course, with stamps the price they are, small shops cannot afford to tie up any capital in a non-profit-making enterprise.



Queues — need they be so long?

Clapham, South London. But from the growing rumble of complaints across the country, it sounds pretty typical. True, the DHSS computer dispute has caused some disruption, though very little in terms of how many people come to the post office, but an increase in the length of time taken for each pensioner's transaction at the windows.

But this post office has become an outlet for its savers. But why on earth should any company in its right mind wish to use the post office as its shop window, when it is notoriously bad at delivering the services it already controls?

Postal rates have gone up again, and meanwhile services degenerate. Neither first nor second class mail reaches its promised deadlines for delivery. Keen to increase its profits, the Post Office is trying to attract more private companies to use its agency services — the Leicester Building Society now uses the Post Office as an outlet for its savers. But why on earth should any company in its right mind wish to use the post office as its shop window, when it is notoriously bad at delivering the services it already controls?

Why, unlike the rest of Europe, does the Post Office keep its monopoly on the sale of stamps? Why can't the public go into any news agency and buy stamps? Technically there's nothing to stop small shops doing so, but unlike every other country, the Post Office will pay them no agency fee for this service, so of course, with stamps the price they are, small shops cannot afford to tie up any capital in a non-profit-making enterprise.

Why are a thousand sub-post offices being closed around the country, when pressure on existing post offices is already so great? Are all pensioners like Mrs M expected to walk so far every week?

Why does the government imagine it can attract savings and gilt-edged stock buyers if they have to queue for two hours to deposit their money? With the possible exception of the Passport Office, there are no queues to beat them this side of Moscow.

Is it surprising that when you do finally reach a window, the staff are almost universally surly and unhelpful? Presumably they come in contact with some of the most angry and fractious members of the public to be found. Perhaps it is the government's intention to make claiming social security payments as unpleasant as possible. But it hardly makes sense to demand a modern commercial service to compete with private enterprise in banking and sales while forcing a punitive bad service upon the public. Is it a public service or a commercial enterprise? It fails at both, and makes its profits almost exclusively out of the fact that it is a monopoly.

Why should the Post Office be expected to make a profit for the state and not plough back surpluses? "Ah," says Mr Roberts with a smile. "You'll have to ask Mr Tebbit that." But then the exact nature of the profit is peculiar. £250 million of their income comes from acting as agent to the DHSS, a sum annually negotiated. On what basis is it negotiated? That is more arcane, since the service is not put out to tender.

serious problem. Yes, he was getting more complaints than ever. Yes, the staff were getting more flak from the public. He admitted that his marketing director stormed into his office almost every day tearing out his hair, saying how could he market anything through outlets with queues second to none? Certainly the DHSS strike had made matters worse, but he had to admit things hadn't been so very good before.

But, on the other hand, "The public," he said, "are funny about queuing. They always think they've been waiting longer than they have. The average waiting time in a post office is between 17 and 75 seconds." 17 and 75? Did he mean minutes? No, seconds. What is an average? He admitted that there was a problem. Many people had to use the post office at peak times and not at the times of the day when there was nobody else there. By definition, more people use post offices at times when more people use them — but he did wish they'd change their habits.

Why not improve the service by using part-time staff at peak times? "The union has a national policy against part-timers. If we provoked trouble with the union there would be even worse for the public." There are only 300 part-timers out of a national counter staff of 7,000. The union confirms that this is indeed their absurd restrictive policy.

Why should the Post Office be expected to make a profit for the state and not plough back surpluses? "Ah," says Mr Roberts with a smile. "You'll have to ask Mr Tebbit that." But then the exact nature of the profit is peculiar. £250 million of their income comes from acting as agent to the DHSS, a sum annually negotiated. On what basis is it negotiated? That is more arcane, since the service is not put out to tender.

Mr Roberts agreed that certainly the bankers would charge the government less for paying out pensions, for example. "But people are frightened of the antisocial atmosphere in banks." (Does

this imply something septic about post offices? "Old people wouldn't like to go into banks for their money. People like post offices. We're lucky there." Since no one has yet had the option of collecting their money across other counters than a post office, the point may be arguable. Mrs M might easily prefer a bank where she didn't have to queue so long.

I asked the DHSS why, with the coming closure of sub-post offices, arrangements could not be made for pensioners and others to cash their counterfoils at local shops or post offices. Any- way, who's asking this? We're not aware that anyone is asking," said the DHSS.

Why can't we buy stamps in other outlets, as they can abroad? "We have more post offices, so there is no need," said Mr Roberts. He admitted that stamp machines were notoriously scarce, empty and broken and he said they were trying to produce a better model, and more of them. But the Post Office would not give a concession to shops to sell them, so that was that.

Ironically the DHSS dispute may end up making more money for the post office. The DHSS will have to pay the Post Office more, as each transaction takes longer, and yet so far, the Post Office has taken on no more staff, full or part-time. Mr Roberts says vaguely they may employ more staff, but will not reveal how much. If that money is eventually made available to regional postmasters to do so.

The Post Office is the biggest single source of cash in the land. Last year £55 billion crossed its counters. It is the biggest bank, with the most customers, because those customers have nowhere else to go. It's neither a public service, nor a commercial enterprise. If the government had the courage of its money-making convictions, it would put out to tender much of the work the Post Office does so badly, and let others do it better cheaper. Or, otherwise, it should allow it to be run as a good public service, making as much money as it can, while treating its customers with some respect.

Terrorised in my own home

Ann Lever's story is a warning to anyone thinking of taking in lodgers

WHEN I was left alone with two very small children, it seemed sensible and, at the time, socially acceptable to let out part of our large Victorian house to tenants. Accordingly, most of the first floor was rented to a married couple, undergraduates. I realised that this was not promising to be an ideal arrangement when, a few days after moving in, they arrived home at 4 am, with a van containing furniture which was then dragged upstairs (tearing wall-paper and scratching paintwork).

When I suggested next day that moving heavy furniture around in the middle of the night in a house where three small children were trying to sleep was not desirable, the verbal abuse began. From that day on, for reasons I still cannot fathom, unless they both suffered from the same kind of mental aberration, the tenants began a campaign of attrition, refusing to leave and terrorising me in my own home.

Here are a few samples of their inexplicable delinquent conduct. Hot water was included in their rent. They left the immersion-heater on continuously, in spite of the fact that it was defective and flooded the linen-cupboard with boiling water if left on indefinitely. They broke their electricity meter and fixed it so that all electricity came from my account.

The telephone was in a private room in my part of the house. Its use was not included in their agreement, though I would have had no objection to reasonable access to it. They repeatedly made long-distance calls without any payment. Frequently I found complete strangers, their visitors, making calls. When I locked the door of this room, they forced the lock.

I had said, originally, they might park on our drive for a few days till they found a garage. They never did so. But they did force open the car of a friend of mine which

was left on "their" parking space and moved it on to the road.

Our dog had been run over when one of the children left the front door open. In view of this, and the fact that my younger son was only three when they moved in, I asked if they would mind always making sure the door was closed behind them. Not only did they make a point of leaving it open, they instructed their friends to do likewise.

They moved a carpenter's bench and other equipment into our private conservatory and hammered away there on Sunday mornings. They played records (reggae) much of the night in the room next to my bedroom. When I abandoned tapping on the wall to request peace, they would bang on the wall and shout, "Knock knock knock on the old bedroom wall!"

I am very fat. One of their amusements was to stand outside my bedroom door and

shout speculations about my estimated weight.

As I write this, I am well aware that I buy soup, either paranoid or else guilty of some unacknowledged serious offence to provoke such behaviour. I trust the former is not the case; the latter, certainly, is not. Nor was I out of touch with people and their mores. I was spending my working days with deprived and difficult teenagers and it was only a few years since I had been a student myself. My life-style both as a tenant and post-graduate had been by no means more sedate than average.

Several months before they left, the specific blackmail started. Either by reading my post or by eavesdropping, they discovered that I had declared for rate-assessment purposes some improvements I had made to their and the help's accommodation. (I employed an unmarried mother to look after my children when I had to be out.)

They decided that, in return for not reporting me to the authorities, they would live for the duration rent-free.

The uninitiated will wonder why my household endured this systematic bullying. Fellow small novice landlords probably will not. When I approached the police for help, I was told, "The law concerning landlord and tenant disputes is so complicated, it's like marital conflicts. We try never to get involved. I tried the Rent Tribunal. Before the hearing, the tenants plastered the (communal) parts of the house with Labour Party posters to which they had added their own slogans: "Go it with Labour! Long live the Rent Tribunal! Down with the private landlord!" etc.

An officer came to see me about harassment. I greeted him joyfully, only to find he had come to investigate my misbehaviour. Although the Rent Tribunal did not allow an eviction order, it did not lower the very modest rent (a

bonus for which the tenants had hoped). The members of the tribunal apparently totally ignored evidence on my behalf — a statement by neighbours quoting verbatim abuse shouted from an upstairs window to me in the garden.

There was an affidavit from our help detailing some of the antisocial behaviour she had witnessed. The tenants then swore that she had come to them, sobbing, imploring their forgiveness, saying I had dictated her statement having threatened to throw her and her baby out if she did not perjure herself on my behalf. This slander was believed. After all, in certain trendy parlance, "landlord" had become one of the dirtiest double four-letter words in the language. The university lodgings warden was sympathetic but said that married students were regarded as having a special form of autonomy and no disciplinary action could be taken against them.

After they had gone for years, private individuals who had lent them money (they were even in debt to our help), debt-collecting agencies and even the police used to call, trying to trace their whereabouts. I sometimes wonder whether I read the Sunday tabloids. I might see more recent news of their antics. I cannot believe that their near psychopathic behaviour was aroused only by some catalyst in my particular household. The wife, incidentally, intended to become a primary school teacher.

The leaving party — the night before they eventually withdrew from what was in retrospect a siege situation — was their piece de resistance.

The children and I spent the night huddled in the room nearest the front-door, literally in physical fear because of the degree of drunkenness. They had, incidentally, complained in front of the small guests at my son's sixth birth-

day party about the children playing hide and seek. Next day, they left, taking with them all the timed food from ourarder plus some of our cooking utensils, leaving in their place empty beer cans.

Bottles and beer cans thrown through the closed window into the front garden. Also in the front garden were contraceptives, presumably not used in situ. In the flat, various liquids had been hurled at the walls. Milk bottles filled with beer stood in ranks in the kitchen. The cover had been wrenched off an electric socket, and, before I noticed it among all the squalor, my younger son had put his hand on it and injured himself seriously. The burn was as large as his palm; the shock was terrible.

As I said before, the legacy of these experiences seems permanent. Perhaps writing them out will help a little to exorcise my nightmares. The effects on my son, the next years in such an atmosphere may well be ineradicable.



Vanity Fair

IT'S DIFFICULT to spot a group of Tories discussing burning issues in public. They don't need to hold meetings, said their man at Head Office, their case is so obvious, and it's all too easy, said he, to get the public whipped up and emotional, so his party will respond, but never start things.

Unbitten Socialists managed to get two of them along to a debate last week, a speaker and supporter, to discuss War and How It Can Be Prevented. Conservative Speaker began, blustering loudly and incoherently, but in a philosophical way.

"Our sun has a number of planets," declared he, "mumble, then a asteroid, then Venus, mumble mumble — nearly collided with the earth... nothing inevitable, future unpredictable, change is desirable."

"Speak up," called the audience, "move the microphone." Capitalist Speaker did as he was told. "In my view," said he sternly and more clearly, the 57 varieties of Socialism have so discredited the firm that it has but a natural life left. It was a short life left. Speaker to relate all things to the business world. He spoke with certainty. "The world cannot be transformed by 'isms'."

Luckily he had the answer up his sleeve. "Christianity is not an 'ism'," he explained, "and we will be transformed by the coming of that person, then and only then, mumble." Speaker's Jewish colleagues agreed with him and were waiting said he, rather like himself, in an optimistic way for the Messiah.

"In the meantime," sneered he, "while you are awaiting the coming of World Socialism, there are practical things to do, like establishing competence building measures." He was shameless. "Even if Conservatives are Capitalists," said he proudly, "we in the West enjoy Democracy." Then he leaned back in his chair as if

full of dinner, lit a cigarette, stared up at the gold twirls around the ceiling and prepared to be tolerant.

Socialist Speaker began, spoke of atrocities in Vietnam, the economic causes of war and competition between nations. There would be no survivors in a nuclear war, said he, except all in Kensington and Chelsea if the wind blows from the southwest. He mentioned 105 hospitals closed down, reduction of 10,000 hospital beds and the increase of man's destructive potential while more millions starve.

Exasperated, Conservative Speaker began to chuck himself about in his chair, because idealism is always a red rag to any Capitalist, but Socialist continued to mock East Anglia's post-war plan and its large appendix on herbal remedies. "Where are we going to find Juniper?" he asked, "or yarrow for hypertension?"

Capitalist had had enough. Lips compressed he glared up at the gold twirls until question time.

"How do we get from where we are now to where we want to be?" asked first questioner sharply, and spoke at length of the non-aligned movement and comparative insignificance of the Euro-slave industrial proletariat. Audience began to fidget.

"Why are Russia and China pointing missiles at each other?" demanded the next questioner. "Because they're State Capitalist Regimes," answered Socialist.

"Because they're Socialists," shouted Capitalist triumphantly. His team were the ones to protect us from evil.

It might happen yet, with World Socialism or the coming of the Messiah, whichever you prefer, but most Capitalists know that they are right and ever shall be, world (hopefully) without end, amen.

Michele Hanson

[illegible]

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Thatchernomics tested to destruction

The Prime Minister's sharp response to the pre-conference criticism of her Government is revealing, not least because she almost certainly meant every word. Last year's thumping Conservative majority is proving just as dangerous as Mr Francis Pym warned that it would be, in two respects. On the one hand, the apparent safety of a huge parliamentary majority provides an unaccustomed licence for the likes of Mr Michael Lingers of the Bow Group to speak their minds, while also ensuring that a disproportionate slice of the parliamentary party suffers all the anxieties of those vulnerable to small swings. On the other hand, that majority has clearly lulled both the Prime Minister and her economic chiefs, notably the Chancellor, into complacency. The reality, though, is that there was never any justification for taking the general election result of 1983 as an endorsement of Thatchernomics. The government, which has been lambasted by either historical or international standards, not because of it.

There will obviously be blips around the average in the opinion polls but the underlying indications should be deeply worrying for the Prime Minister. Both her personal leadership and the effectiveness of her Government are markedly less appreciated than a year ago. Nor will a slicker presentation help, for Thatchernomics has now been given one of the most exhaustive real world trials ever afforded such an unconventional policy. And still it does not work. In sharp contrast with the United States, unemployment has reached new records, and the underlying trend has recently accelerated. On the old basis of counting, it is nearly three times as high as it was in 1979. Growth has slowed down, and not only because of the miners' strike. Interest rates, after allowing for price rises, are at historically exorbitant levels. There have been no further gains against inflation. Even the industrial peace which was until recently such a proud boast of Thatcherite ministers has been shattered by the most violent industrial dispute in living memory. If the Thatcherites had consistently claimed that the Government could have no influence on the real economy and jobs, it might now be getting off as scot free as it did at the general election. In fact, though, they always made great claims for their cures, and must not be surprised if the long suffering patient now requests a second opinion.

What has happened now to Mr Norman Tebbit's promise in 1982 that unemployment was "near the plateau, near the top"? Or to Mr Nigel Lawson's pre-election prediction that unemployment would fall this year? Or, indeed, to Sir Geoffrey Howe's promise as long ago as April 1979, that Thatcherite policies would bring a "soundly based revival" with "secure well-paid jobs"? At the same time, Mrs Thatcher even said that the answer to Labour's appalling record on unemployment ("Labour isn't working") was to "set the wheels of the economy moving again."

We have done it before. . . We shall do it again. The products, indeed, were once again to "stream from our factories," though most manufacturers might be surprised to learn that their output is still 13 per cent below the 1979 peak. Then there were the promises to cut taxation, and not to double VAT. VAT was doubled, and taxation now takes 6 per cent more of national income than it did in 1978-9. Indeed, the Chancellor now hints that he intends to extend VAT further and in the most regressive manner. The Government has even managed to make deep cuts in most public spending programmes, including education, housing and overseas aid, while increasing the total share of public spending in national income with increases for defence and the number of unemployed; you pay more, and get less. If these are the signs of a policy working according to all the best-laid plans, heaven help the British economy should it ever experience anything as undignified as failure.

The limited 'rights' of Mr MacGregor

The right to work, it may be bitterly observed, is often much constrained by the availability of work to exercise such rights over. What about another right much invoked during the coal dispute: management's right to manage? Mr Ian MacGregor, according to the Prime Minister, must in the ultimate have the right to say which pits close and which stay open. That's the trouble with half way houses like the Nacods formula featuring independent arbitration when all else fails. But let us pause, for a moment, over those management rights.

One can see, of course, that a system in which managers manage and workers accept that authority is both natural and coherent. It is the way, by and large, that things get made and things get sold. In the private sector, moreover, there is a simple test of survival to underpin the order of things. If a firm in which management is denied the possibility of managing goes bust as a result, then there tends not to be anybody around to pick up the pieces. Our nationalised industries, however, are an altogether bonier kettle of fish. Here the interest of the shareholders is not exercised by big stinks or votes of confidence at annual general meetings. It is exercised day by day by the elected government. Sometimes that government is a Labour one and thus able (in theory if not in practice) to maximise all the wonders that flow from Clause Four. But sometimes, in a democratic country, the government is Conservative. So the rules of the nationalised game inevitably change with governments. The advent of Mrs Thatcher, though, has not in any way lessened the degree of Whitehall meddling in the supposed ability of nationalised industry managers to manage. Over the past few days, for instance, we have seen the Government stand free market forces on their head in order to provide the framework for a nationalised industry — British Airways — to float itself on the Stock Exchange. And even those public utilities which aren't on the privatisation list, like British Gas, are beset by constant external redrawing of the rules of operation. If they've found oil, by good fortune and judgment, at Wytch Farm, then that bonus is taken away. And their pricing policies are, of course, determined not by market forces but by what the government of the day judges desirable in the context of its own energy and economics policy.

Managers' "right" to manage, in the public sector, is not much of a right at all: it is more akin to the civil servants' duty to fulfil whatever legal and decent brief his minister may propose. There is no objection of principle to the Nacods formula, any more than principle is involved in giving Saudi Arabia to British Caledonian and South America to British Airways. That, of course, doesn't mean that Mrs Thatcher, or her appointee, Mr MacGregor, or indeed that glum body of coal board officials who've given their lives to the industry, may not be allowed their own view of floating arbitration for clapped out pits. But let us not please, get stuck too deep over this particular set of managers' right to manage.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

Party politics and the boys in blue

Sir, — Leslie Curtis's outburst in *Hull* last week is really only the public tip of the iceberg, when it comes to the political stance and activities of the police. As chairman of the 120,000 strong Police Federation, Mr Curtis knows quite well the extent of his organisation's political activities.

In the House of Commons the Police Federation has long had a spokesman to put forward its point of view. Throughout the Sixties and Seventies that spokesman was traditionally a member of the Opposition. The first holder of the job was former Prime Minister James Callaghan. Subsequently, he gave way to Labour's A. H. Morris.

Traditionally when there was a change of Government there was a change of spokesman. This changed in May 1979, when the Police Federation re-appointed Eldon Griffiths to continue to advise and speak for them. This break with tradi-

tions ended a pretence of impartiality.

At the time the Federation explained that Griffiths's personal contacts, experience and commitment to Federation policies, equality and order were the reasons for his retention. The *Federation Journal* Police went further and said the break was also because in the past other spokesmen on leaving the benches of the opposition had taken up seats in government, which meant they did not have time to devote to the Federation. Griffiths remained a back bench member and therefore, he himself was not a part of the executive and could continue to be "their" man.

Griffiths has become trapped by this statement and may be seeing developments as we set out for him. As long as he represents the Police Federation he could hardly progress his own career into a position of Government. For the Federa-

tion to have changed spokesmen and brought in another Conservative would have been to draw attention to their clear cut right wing preference. Leslie Curtis has now drawn attention to it by stating the difficulties he foresees for the police in working with a Labour government.

It is very difficult indeed to see an amicable working relationship between a Labour spokesman and the Police Federation unless the Federation takes up during the week of the Labour Party Conference can be drawn in. To continue and defend the Conservative line is only to highlight "the oppressive arm of the fascist state" thesis.

The Federation's natural inclination must be towards the Conservatives both for the political content and the successful "iron lady" imagery. Image over reality has always been important to the police. More than any other

public service, they have developed "PR departments" and "media classes" for staff and community relations sections to promote the right image.

Research by Dr Robert Reimer revealed that 80 per cent of police officers given sample did not in fact describe themselves as Conservatives, with the remainder evenly dividing between Labour, Liberal and don't know. Of the sample, 80 per cent had voted in all recent elections. Public opinion polls, however, are usually within an orthodox and narrow range of right of centre views.

Out of the public view the Federation regularly contributes its opinion on various policies to newspapers. Select committees and other bodies, on the matter of police and other subjects like similar bodies this is seen as preferential to more open statements where there is always the possibility of being misquoted or put in your

foot in it with disasters like the infamous "nag" dog" quote from this year's Scarborough conference. It also helps the perpetuation of the "impartial" image in public.

The other two Police organisations, the Association of Chief Police Officers and the Police Superintendents' Association of England and Wales, both have similar views.

Mr Curtis's predecessor as chairman of the Police Federation was Mr Jim Jardine. In his last speech before retiring, Mr Jardine gave a final message to the police to not allow themselves to be the instrument of party politics. After ten years in the job Mr Curtis has openly aligned the Police with the Conservative Party by his statements at Hull. It will be difficult, indeed, for a new Labour government to work with the Police Force, Terry Thomas, Halifax, W. Yorkshire.

Miscellany

Sir, — It was something of a revelation for me to read British Telecom's announcements in the press that the Speaking Clock is losing his voice and that they are looking for a replacement for him. For all these years I have believed that I have been listening to a woman's voice. M. M. Gayford, London N8.

Sir, — Your diarist's report October 3 of Ken Livingstone drinking Chablis premier cru in Blackpool provoked no surprise in informed circles. As Ken has a subtle appreciation of the hierarchical differences among both wines and people he correctly chooses the Chablis grand cru, leaving them for the bosses. — Yours faithfully, Michael Tremberth, East Molesey.

Sir, — Poor Pamela Fellows (Letters, October 5) appears to be shell-shocked after her exposure to subversive articles in the unfamiliar pages of the *Guardian*. Dear lady, there are indeed very few idealists around. It is far precisely this reason that the last thing society requires is a laissez-faire system which leaves care and justice to an individual's conscience, instead of writing it into a system to be enforced by common consent.

She goes on to state that humans never work for love or mutual benefit; does she really feel that the logical outcome of this statement is that they should have no restraints on their profits and ambitions? Anyway, thank you, Mrs Fellows, you have given us an exhilarating insight into Tory attitudes. Fay Marshall, Worthing, Sussex.

View from the forest

Sir, — Peter Hetherington (September 24) is right when he says the partial privatisation of the Forestry Commission is on a parallel with problems in the coal industry.

I was a Forestry Commissioner, until I asked not to be considered for re-appointment because I felt the Commission was never going to produce timber at a profit. I did not agree with the present irrational piecemeal privatisation, but I recommended total privatisation.

The Commission argues that it will make a profit in the future. If there is to be profit in the future, there should be good returns from present selling. In the year ending 1982, income from harvesting was £36 million, but after deducting all felling costs the "surplus" was only £1.6 million. The following year the surplus rose to £3.8 million, but there was a higher percentage of sawlogs, which increased the average price; and the price obtained for that part of the cut (about 50 per cent) taken by contractors rose by 31 per cent. With a price rise of such magnitude, one would expect the surplus to increase substantially. Since it did not, one assumes the surplus on the half felled by the Commission fell dramatically, possibly that they made a loss on the felling operation alone.

Those who wish to sell off government enterprises do so because they feel this will increase the jobs available. Change is never comfortable but it is essential for progress. Linda Whitstone, Hatfield, Sussex.

Sir, — Creag Meagaidh, that jewel of a mountain so valuable for its range and continuity of wildlife habitat that the Government's conservation experts, the Nature Conservancy Council, have awarded it the accolade of Nature Conservation Review Site, is to have a commercial conifer plantation imposed upon its slopes.

At one stroke the Government, in the form of the Secretary of State for Land, has committed Britain on its own Wildlife and Countryside Act. Not only are the provisions of the Act ignored, but this decision "should not be taken as indicating a general presumption either for or against afforestation in SSSIs." In other words, critical wildlife sites may be destroyed if the pressure for commercial development is great enough. Now that the Wildlife and Countryside Act has no meaning it should be replaced by effective piece of legislation. Donald Phillips, Friends of the Earth, Edinburgh.

No monopoly

Sir, — Richard Wainwright, MP (Letters, October 3) claims that the concept of economic democracy "has been the basis of Liberal policy for more than 50 years." Be that as it may, it has been an essential socialist idea for much longer than that.

I suggest that Richard Wainwright reads the writings of the socialist William Morris of a century ago, and the voluminous output of the socialist G. D. H. Cole from the second and third decades of this century.

Furthermore, when the Labour Party adopted Clause Four and socialist principles in 1918, it called for the widest participation in power in industry as well as government (Labour and the New Social Order). It is clear that the Liberal Party does not have a monopoly on wisdom.

If the Liberal Party is so keen on the idea of economic democracy, why did it oppose the Butler Report on Industrial Democracy that was advanced by the last Labour government in 1977? Geoff Hodgson, Manchester.

Why government needs a dose of reality

Sir, — Your article on October 3 reveals a lack of the ill-advised decision by the Ministry of Agriculture to encourage farmers to carry out blanket-spraying of their lands against aphids carrying the barley yellow dwarf virus. The environmental effects of this spraying (which would extend even to areas where no aphids are present as "insurance spraying") seem to have been little considered.

It is ironic that this autumn spraying regime is being promoted in a year when the Agricultural and Food Research Council, as part of its cuts imposed by the Government, has chosen to axe a programme of the Plant Breeding Institute in Cambridge concerning resistance to insects in cereals and sugar beet. This means, amongst other things, no more research into the development of aphid-resistant varieties of wheat. It is just such environmentally-sound research which the Government should be encouraging, and which would eventually remove the excuse for large-scale dosing.

(Dr) F. H. Perring, Royal Society for Nature Conservation, Lincoln.

Unnerving

Sir, — The report of the Institute for European Defence and Strategic Studies (October 3) states that stocks of nerve gas shells will no longer be usable by 1990, and that therefore the US should "immediately" complete the development of a new generation of binary nerve gas weapons.

This is surprising, and completely contradicts the published findings of the Blue Ribbon Panel set up by the US Defence Secretary, whose Report on Retaliatory Stockpiles Status Review, April 1983 says "Military utility of artillery munitions in stockpiles has not seriously degraded to date."

The report also states that 50 per cent of all nerve gas stocks should still meet army standards by 1990. Who is right?

Elizabeth Sigmund, Working Party on Chemical and Biological Weapons, Launceston.

Cold comfort for institutional catering

Sir, — Concern is expressed (October 4) that replacing a hot meal with a cold meal in a psychiatric hospital in Wales, may result in an inadequate diet for the patients.

There is a widespread misconception that hot food is nutritionally better for you than cold. This is not so. If anything, the converse is true because of the huge vitamin losses that can occur during cooking and when keeping food hot. This is a particular problem in institutional catering.

A meal based on sandwiches can be nutritionally every bit as good as a hot meal. As with all meals, whether white or brown, is a good food that supplies protein, vitamins, minerals, dietary fibre in the form of starch (desirably) and dietary fibre (wholemeal bread contains more fibre than white). The eating quality of the bread is important.



Sir, — As a 20 year old army conscript (1947), for a time, I mixed D.D.T. powder and paraffin in a dingy, airless cellar in occupied Germany.

Some 37 years later, we are informed by the Ministry of Agriculture (Guardian 2.10.84) that although the existing products containing D.D.T. can still be sold, the Pesticides Safety Precaution Scheme will no longer approve products containing the chemical, because such use is dangerous to health and other safer alternatives are now available. You also say that it is feared that there could be links between

the chemical and damage to the nervous system.

If it has taken the Government nearly 40 years to realise that D.D.T. is a dangerous chemical and should be banned, one must suspect that there could very well be other chemicals in use today that could be at least as dangerous or more so.

I fail to see how the general public could have any confidence in those government bodies that are supposed to be watching over our health. Is it not time for these bodies to be re-organised? — Yours sincerely, Teddy Gold.

Priority Area Development, 3 Childwall Bank Road, Liverpool.

Equally important is the sandwich filling. This should be made up of suitably varied items that are fresh and appealing. As with all meals, sandwiches need to be well prepared and well presented if they are to be eaten and enjoyed. Also, the nature of the meal occasion as a social event is every bit as important as the nutritional quality of all food, particularly for people living in institutions.

A COUNTRY DIARY

KESWICK: It was an ordinary autumn day, one of cloud and sun. But after noon the warmth got the best of me and I went outside. I shall not stir the curtain. Perhaps it is an owl family for their range of sound covers everything from confident chirrup to a full owl cry. My cat is out in the garden, but I wonder where he is and what part he has in the night. He also

is a silent hunter, can turn his head almost full circle and his eyes are like the mice below the hill. His eyes, large and full-bred, can fix more "owl" than "cat", indeed an owl without wings. The sky was barred with cloud again at sunset but now it is clear and cold, almost frosty. There is a half-moon and glittering stars which snap as they do in real frost. The bats were

here at dusk for the first time for months, hunting assiduously round the outskirts of the spruce spires. Perhaps they too are laying out reserves for the cold to come? Yes, so long as the owl does not "call my name" it will be a night to remember... but not for the mice, bats, cats, and owls, seeming to conspire against them.

ENID J. WILSON

On first opening the pages of Hayek's Road to Serfdom



Hugo Young

THE TORRIES meet in Brighton on a resonant anniversary. I am not referring, as it happens, to Mrs Thatcher's tenth conference as the Conservative leader: a milestone no doubt due to be marked by many an unctuous peroration. The anniversary in question is both grander and less well remembered. It is exactly 40 years since what can only be called the intellectual foundation of the Conservative Party as we now know it.

In October 1944, F. A. Hayek published a book entitled *The Road to Serfdom*. It was quickly established as a best-seller, becoming famous worldwide and in 12 languages. It is now a bible of British Conservatism, its author honoured by Mrs Thatcher, his other books — and there have been many — taking a place of equal eminence in the libraries of the Right. In short, Hayek, Austrian economist, LSE professor, Nobel prizewinner and still vigorous at 88, has become a cult figure.

But there is a problem. Many people have not read Hayek, and they include a good few of those who most emphatically agree with what

he says. This may even be true of some of those loyal souls, co-worshippers with Mrs Thatcher at his shrine, who enter the Brighton conference with the best of intentions. And there is another group almost certainly suffering from a like defect: political writers, including, until the other day, this one.

Thus, a tract written for the post-Nazi era had a second birth in quite different circumstances. Hayek, a great deal more in his search for the minimal state. Well past the age of 70, the man and his ideas finally met their moment. They collided with a party programme, dismissed by defeat, guilty about its failure and vengeful against a leadership which had distanced itself by a succession of U-turns from the policies set out in 1970.

It has been, in a way, a happy marriage. For if you want to believe the need to wipe out the post-war period, Hayek provides a most felicitous justification. He is weighty, authoritative and, if you accept his premises, almost irresistible. He gives professorial validity to the state not only must but can be reduced, and he strikes many a Thatcherite chord in the process.

He plays, for example, the candid foreign friend, urging the British to reassess their national pride, "their belief in the peculiar value of English civilisation." He cannot understand why we don't blow our own trumpets. More immediately, he supplies a party defence for the privatisation of British Telecom, with his argument that those years ago that monopolies are safer in private hands than under state control.

Similarly, he renders respectable the notion, dear to the private heart of many Tories, that social welfare spending should be merely the means to the end of self-reliance. By far the most striking omission in *The Road to Serfdom* is its ruthless indifference to the poor and underprivileged. In a later book Hayek argues against the very existence of such a concept as "social justice".

The burgeoning "think-tanks" of the New Right, pumping this message out to the party, find such eminent support very reassuring.

Nor, of course, are the old professors of party always unacceptable to a wider circle. Government can obviously be a menace. Its concentration of power needs constant vigilance. Bureaucracies and all their works are inseparable in modern industrial society but they tend all the time to impede economic efficiency and intrude into private lives.

Hayek also has a timely warning for governments which depend solely on a large parliamentary majority. He called it the dictatorship of the proletariat, "the misleading and unfounded belief that so long as the ultimate source of power is the will of the majority, the power cannot be arbitrary."

The British state is not, however, totalitarian or anything like it. And neither is its scope and power something which the present government, for all its

zeal, has been able to do a great deal about. The strongest and most determined anti-state permanent in western Europe, it has yet presided over a growth in the state's bare of the gross national product.

Poor old Hayek! Forty years on, he is accepted as the guru — but of a utopia which, in the real world, is even more remote than the serfdom he so eloquently foresaw in 1944.

He denied the existence, in other words, of any kind of Middle Way, then the conventional wisdom of both Labour and Conservative parties. There was no room between "the commercial and the military type of society".

There could not be both freedom and planning, a mixture of state direction with private enterprise. Not only would it not work, it would lead to the atrophy of freedom — the road to serfdom.

Reading Hayek in 1984, one is struck by how thorough and honest he was in pursuing his case, and also relating it to wartime experience. His fear of the reincarnation of German-style totalitarianism by the well-meaning British in their own society is passionate and clear-eyed. What also strikes one, however, is how deeply mistaken he turned out to be. Postwar Britain has not, actually, been like that.

Planning under different guises, has gone on ever since the war. Economic choice-making is an activity which, to some degree, even Thatcherism deems appropriate for governments. The Wilson government of 1964 attempted it more ambitiously, and it certainly involved the erection of laws which curtailed the laissez-faire society. Yet Hayek's categorical prediction in 1944 that such interference would lead to "the doom of the freedom of the individual" now seems an absurd piece of hyperbole.

Nor can the Middle Way, which was pursued for fully 30 years from 1945, be said to have produced the economic disaster which Hayek said it would, hard though that now is to remember in the writer of fashionable contempt for the system which then prevailed. They were years of an unprecedented growth in national prosperity, experienced by all.

Looking further afield, one finds that the Hayekian prescription is even more fanciful. The transformed prosperity of both France and Japan over the past 30 years, by his account, ought not to have occurred. In both countries, central planning and intimate relationship between government and industry were at the heart of the recovery. Which must lead one to suppose that, whatever may have gone wrong with the British economy in the last decade, the fact of government involvement cannot be the sole and irrefutable explanation.

BUT HAYEK is the guru of the Eighties, and given this great gap between prophecy and experience, one searches for a reason why. Why did he capture a political party? Why do its leaders so rever him? It may have something to do with when they discovered his existence. *The Road to Serfdom*, although published in 1944, fell out of the first paperback republication appeared as recently as 1978, just as the rightist takeover of the Tory Party was gathering pace. There is some doubt in Mrs Thatcher's circle about whether she had even heard of him, let alone read him, until after the fall of the Heath government in 1974.

With only...
reports from...
President...
Republican...
Blue c...





Peter Jenkins

Troubles that call for vision

Hard-headed in times of trouble: Mrs Thatcher and Mr Scargill

THE "SCARGILL factor" appears to have filled the gap left by the fading of the "Falklands factor" in enabling Mrs Thatcher and her government to defy the laws of political unpopularity. For the last 12 months the wonder has been how little loss of popularity the Government has suffered in spite of many botches, a general lack of direction and its signal failure to take the measure of the unemployment problem. During all those months the forces of the opposition have remained split, and at Westminster the incompetence of the Government has been exceeded only by the incompetence of the official opposition. Away from Westminster, for seven months, the political scene has been dominated by Mr Arthur Scargill and the struggles of the picket lines. According to the most recent opinion polls the Government is moving sharply ahead of Labour, while the SDP-Liberal Alliance fails to advance. It is Mrs Thatcher, not Dr Owen or Mr Steel, who so far is the beneficiary of the Scargill factor. The Government's standing with the public (according to the latest Mori poll) is virtually what it was on General Election polling day, and yet the Prime Minister's approval rating has

been on the slide and other measurements of opinion show a good deal of discontent with the Government's handling of things, including the miners' strike. What appears to be happening is similar to what happened in 1982 when the Falklands war transformed the political scene. Mrs Thatcher, a few months previously, had achieved a nadir of unpopularity unknown since Neville Chamberlain, while in the hypothetical General Election stakes the opinion polls, on the eve of war, had Conservatives, Labour and the newly-fused SDP-Liberal Alliance all running neck-and-neck. The Falklands war brought about a closing of the patriotic ranks behind the Government. That is what we mean by the "Falklands factor." Voters from the skilled working classes who had been deserting the Conservatives since the 1960s, but who had reverted to their traditional allegiance after 18 months or so of "Thatcherism," rallied to her once more behind the flag. Today they are rallying behind the flag of the Conservative Party. Of course there is more to it than that, in the same way that the "Falklands factor" was always too neat and simple explanation of what was happening beneath the

political surface. For example, there were a number of popular (or populist) roots to what we call "Thatcherism" and the patriotism aroused by the war was consistent with those deeper feelings—a sense, perhaps, that under successive previous governments the country had been let down and led to the dogs. Nor was the "Falklands factor" a sufficient explanation of the ability of the Government to win a General Election with more than three million unemployed, double what it had inherited. This also must have reflected some underlying change in attitudes: some new economic realism (however well or ill-founded) or, perhaps, merely a new fatalism. The growing concern about unemployment within the political elite— which we may expect to manifest itself at the Conservative party conference this week—is not at the moment matched by any discernible movement in public opinion. Also, the "Falklands factor" — and now the "Scargill factor" — did its work in the context of a profound structural change in British politics. The breaking of the old consensus, the turmoil on the left, the SDP breakaway, were events symptomatic of changes still

in progress, perhaps only just begun. Transcendental issues such as the Falklands war, or today's near-civil war in Yorkshire, rise above and cut across party loyalties, not only because of their own force but also because of changing attitudes and the weakening of old allegiances. The "Scargill factor," unlike the "Falklands factor," is not a random event, an external diversion distracting attention from domestic woes. It is in part an expression of those internal woes, feeding — as I recently argued — on the physical fact of mass unemployment but also on the wider moral misgivings aroused by the condition of the nation under Mrs Thatcher. But it is also, as we were shown in Blackpool last week, an expression of seismic changes in political geography — at the epicentre of which is the disintegration of the Labour Party as a credible or even constitutional party of government. To that extent, the Conservative Party is for the time being a party of government by default. Whether it is the "Falklands factor" or the "Scargill factor" which buys the government up its authority is anchored in the present flux of party politics and the instabilities of the left. It is an unusual state of affairs, for no one supposes



With only four weeks before America goes to the polls, ALEX BRUMMER reports from the Democrat stronghold of West Virginia where the President is sweeping all before him. Tomorrow HAROLD JACKSON, in the Republican fortress of Utah, finds that they love Reagan more than ever

Blue collar state backs winner



US ELECTION

BENEATH the shadow of a plant steaming coal-processing plant, deep in the autumn-tinted hills of rural Boone County, a group of busy mine construction workers protected by white helmets are trying to make a bet. Another workman guards over a coal lorry as it fills with its rich dark product, while many miners, faces blackened from the pits, pass by. Jerry Doler, 40, a large, friendly man with a hand some draw whose livelihood depends on the hard-pressed mining industry, unabashedly extols the virtues of Ronald Reagan. "I believe a lot of miners are going to vote for him because he's doing what he said he would and because of religion," he says. As we stood, being splattered with a shower of coal-coloured rain from the machinery above near the hamlet of Twilight, Bill Tomblin, who has spent two years unemployed and describes himself as a Democrat, moans that Reagan has done little for the poor people. Then he goes on to indicate he will vote for him. Another older plant worker, Napoleon Bonaparte Danges, rushes over to make the message that "Reagan is a great man," "the best president in a long time," gets across. At the dingy redbrick unemployment office in Charleston, seat of the state's government, commerce and industry, a sorrowful young man of 32 years, Dave Brook, who lost his bakery job in the midst of the Reagan recession, says he thinks the president "has been pretty good." I liked the way he handled Canada. These sample of views from blue collar workers in

West Virginia, historically the most unionised and democratic state in the nation, are bizarre. In 1980 this poor Appalachian state, with its mines in the state and its chine and solidly Protestant traditions, was the battle-ground chosen by John F. Kennedy to prove he could beat Hubert Humphrey. In the 1980 Reagan landslide it was the state of the four states, to stay loyal to Carter-Mondale. This without doubt should be fertile territory for Walter Mondale. The Reagan recovery has left West Virginia behind. At 14 per cent unemployment in the state is the highest in the country. While car workers are back on the assembly lines in Michigan coal miners in the impoverished Kanawha Valley, just a few miles from bustling Charleston, live in communities where the jobless rate reaches 70 per cent. In the small shabby bars of Cabin Creek and Miami, the coal miners survive on a diet of welfare payments and the dollars that can be earned from burrowing in the hills for the free growing ginseng plant. At the Junction Lounge in Cheyney it was necessary to navigate five drinks at 8.30 in the evening before finding a former miner who would render a sober judgment on the Reagan Presidency. "I wouldn't vote for him for dog catcher," remarked Terry Hodge, now the embittered owner of the bar. Despite the state's strong Democratic traditions, the views of Hodge and other unemployed miners are becoming those of the minority, according to the latest opinion polling in the state. A survey by the Charleston Daily Mail (disputed vociferously by the editor of the rival Charleston Gazette, Mr Don Marsh), shows Mr Reagan with a 17.6 per cent lead in state. Whether it is real or notional that kind of lead for the Republicans, in an industrial and heavily unionised state like West Virginia, is the equivalent of a political earthquake. It is a change in American society and attitudes which appears to go beyond the clever marketing of Reagan's benign image — the most mentioned explanation of the President's popularity in dozens of conversations in Charleston. The roots of this shift in American political life are the result of the three massive revolutions which changed the shape of the nation's values between JFK's primary victory in West Virginia in 1960 and Richard Nixon's

presidential win here in 1972, according to Dr Charles Lieble, professor of geography at the University of Charleston. He argues that political attitudes in the state and the country were altered by the passage and acceptance of civil rights, the Vietnam war and the environmental laws. These issues stopped being an intense cause for liberals because they had happened. In Dr Lieble's view the moral, religious and conservative themes which appeal to West Virginians in 1984 were first "embodied by some of Nixon's supporters in 1972." They were the advanced guard for Ronald Reagan's America whose political progress was temporarily interrupted by Watergate and its reaction, the Carter presidency. The change in value systems was accompanied by sociological shifts. In the schools and universities the experimentation of the 1960s, when student participation and liberalisation of teaching methods were all the rage, have given way to a return to the basics. It has produced a generation of students with shorter hair, conservative views, an almost selfish concentration on economic advancement, and a fascination with the high-tech world. Indeed, in this election year it is Mr Mondale and Mrs Geraldine Ferraro, the liberals who might have been cheered on campus in the past, who have faced Reagan's henchmen at the nation's universities. I have seen Mr Mondale fight to be heard above pro-Reagan students in San Jose, the heart of Silicon Valley, and Mrs Ferraro struggle above the conservative protesters at the University of Southern California. The opinion surveys, in one of their more extraordinary findings, show a 7.3 year-old Republican President more popular among the 18 to 29-year-olds than among any other age group in the country. In West Virginia, as in other states, Mr Reagan is also reaping a benefit from the decline of the unions. The crusading editor of the Charleston Gazette Mr Don Marsh argues that the "conventional smokescreen coalition of the new deal has broken down." Civil Rights also produced a conflict between blue collar workers as "Quotas" which has unshackled the union voters from the Democratic Party. In 1978 West Virginia was the most unionised state in America with 46.6 per cent of its workers unionised. By

1980 this figure had dropped to 34.4 per cent and it has continued to decline as the coal industry has been battered by successive economic and political setbacks. The decline of America's steel industry and the loss of markets and the price of American coal has become increasingly uncompetitive. This has had a devastating political effect. In 1980 it was possible for the Kennedy's with the help of subsidies of cash to deliver West Virginia through the unions. "The United Mineworkers cannot deliver the votes anymore," says Dr Lieble. Similarly across the country the AFL-CIO, America's largest trades union confederation, is in crisis as the economic centre of the country moves to less unionised states of the south and heavy industrial jobs flee to the North-East to California, give way to non-union service industries and high-tech jobs. While these shifts partly explain Mr Reagan's popularity they by no means tell the whole story. Indeed, many of the shifts in West Virginia, from unemployed miners in the Green Lantern tavern in Miami to a labour lawyer in Charleston, suggested that Senator Gary Hart would have been well able to take advantage of the sociological changes in the state. The secret of Mr Reagan's popularity, in the view of the state Republican Party chairman, Mr Kent Strange Hall, is what he calls "psychological." Mr Hall, an amiable man who is ideologically at odds with his Party's standard bearer on such issues as abortion, women's rights and prayer in schools, argues that "politics is now a marketing endeavour." "There is no rational explanation of why people buy a product. It is a marketing job. You have got to have a product and Reagan, as a master of style, comes across as a good product on television with which you can identify," he says. Mr Hall, until recently personally believed that the Republican Party was doomed unless it opened the doors to blacks, labour unions and women. But Reagan, a product wrapped in patriotism, together with the shifting trends of American industrial society, have proved such conventional wisdom wrong. Even the most unlikely of states are now material for a Republican landslide.

CHANGES TO TELEPHONE CHARGES

British Telecommunications plc announces the following changes to telephone charges. These are the first changes for main telephone services (other than international calls) since November 1983. Overall, the changes on exchange line rentals and on local and national (formerly known as trunk) calls are within the limit set by the BT Licence.

FROM NOVEMBER 1st 1984.

Exchange line and standard telephone rental.

Residential.

Exclusive rental increased by £1.00 to £15.15 per quarter.

Shared rental increased by 95p to £14.10 per quarter.

Rebate on rental for low use residential lines increased from 3.0p to 3.2p per unused unit below 120 call units per quarter.

Business.

Exclusive rental increased by £1.50 to £23.50 per quarter.

Shared rental increased by £1.45 to £22.45 per quarter.

FROM NOVEMBER 5th 1984.

Charges for calls from ordinary lines.

Call unit charge increased by 0.3p to 4.7p.

20-25% more time for peak and standard rate national (formerly trunk) calls over 56 kms will make these calls cheaper on average.

Charges for calls from payphones.

The minimum charge for all calls from payphones will be increased to 10p, but more time will be allowed for this minimum charge on most national (formerly trunk) and international calls.

Other items.

Changes are being made to charges for national (formerly trunk) and local operator controlled calls, and to charges for some telephone instruments, extensions, and apparatus.

VAT.

Quoted charges, except those for payphones, are exclusive of VAT.

ADDITIONAL INFORMATION.

Details of all changes will be notified to customers with their quarterly bill in November, December or January. For further information about these changes please dial 100 during normal office hours and ask for Freefone 2500, or for Freefone BTI for enquiries about international services.

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Hunter in the Lloyd's jungle

BUSINESS PEOPLE

ON SUNDAY November 21, 1982, Ray Pettitt, deputy chairman of Lloyd's brokers Minet Holdings was called to a surprise meeting of the company's top directors. The unscheduled conference was to discuss the tide of panic swirling round the company, following revelations that at least \$40 millions from Minet owned syndicates at Lloyd's had gone missing.

By the time Mr Pettitt left the meeting he was chairman of the company and heir to a problem that now ranks as one of the City's worst and most expensive scandals.

In a bloodless coup that Sunday, Minet's chairman John Wallrock was ousted from the job he had held for 11 years. Three days earlier, he had told colleagues he had a personal interest in the reinsurance arrangements which were now causing such concern to the Department of Trade and the Lloyd's authorities. Minet's directors decided Mr Wallrock should resign and Mr Pettitt was appointed to succeed him.

Many outsiders still feel it was a strange choice. Minet had two deputy chairmen, and the other, Simon Arnold (who recently left the company) was a more colourful personality, more familiar with the London market. Mr Pettitt at 46 was regarded as a natural deputy rather than a leader. He was also shattered at the way events had unfolded.

He admired and respected Mr Wallrock who had been one of the pillars of the Lloyd's community after a 30-year career. Mr Pettitt had spent the bulk of his career so far in Kenya setting up joint broking ventures in Africa.

Nothing in his background had prepared him for a problem of the scale of the PCW syndicates' losses, and in any case he had never been involved in the underwriting side of the business, as Minet is foremost an insurance broking house.

According to one business acquaintance: "Mr Pettitt is quite a shrewd operator but he was very green when he was shoved into the hot seat." He landed the job partly because he had been working with Mr Wallrock over the previous three weeks since

What do managers do all day? We start a new weekly feature which looks at the way in which people tackle business problems: the relationship between the business activity and the person carrying it out. Here Mary Brasier looks at the way Ray Pettitt, chairman of Lloyd's brokers Minet, found himself picking up the pieces of one of the City's most serious scandals in a decade.

the PCW affair broke in trying to tackle the problem of how much money had disappeared from the syndicates, where it had gone and who now controlled it.

"We had spent the time talking to PCW directors and trying to get a feel of the problem but initially we could not even get to first base," recalls Mr Pettitt. They were also hampered by the fact that the Department of Trade which had launched an investigation into Minet had taken away all the relevant files.

Mr Pettitt says: "We were not making any progress in the early days. Then after Mr Wallrock told us he had an interest in the reinsurance programmes being investigated and offered his resignation everything happened very quickly. Mr Wallrock stepped down that Sunday. By Wednesday three more directors of PCW had resigned. But Mr Pettitt still did not know how bad the problem was.

"I had a shrewd idea the job was going to be a nightmare, but I have a substantial claims background which helped. In the early days there was so much drama there was no time to absorb the implications of the problem," he says.

Mr Pettitt is not a man to get excited by anything and his first mistake was to imagine that as long as he could get the machinery of investigation in place the PCW affair and scandal that it was causing could be contained. He was equally concerned that Minet's mainstream business would suffer, partly from the adverse blaze of publicity.

He was anxious to insist in those first weeks that PCW was but a tiny part of the Minet empire — an attitude which seemed to reveal a blind ignorance to the effects that the whole affair could have on the Lloyd's community and the City's reputation at large.

The initial drama abated. Mr Pettitt settled down to a more comfortable routine. Armies of accountants and lawyers were sent to pore over the PCW figures. Mr Pettitt shored up the syndicates' management, set about restoring Minet's worldwide credibility and waited for the

information on the extent of the scandal to come in.

"The physical and mental pressure was enormous and PCW occupied 95 per cent of our time in the first six months. We started work at eight in the morning and went on until nine or 10 in the evening seven days a week."

Mrs Pettitt, says her husband, was "very understanding but she had no choice." The Pettitts abandoned their social life but managed a two week holiday in the middle of PCW. Four or five months after Mr Wallrock's resignation Mr Pettitt was able to see the problem more clearly. "In retrospect our perception in December 1982 was incredibly naive," Minet's crisis had two peculiar features: one was that assessing the extent of the losses was so complex. The final analysis detailed over 150 trusts and companies in more than seven countries through which PCW reinsurance premiums had passed.

Secondly, when it came to devising a solution for returning the funds to the syndicate names where they belonged there was no blueprint.

In many City crises, company bankruptcies, banking rescues, there are precedents. But Minet had no example to follow in making sure the syndicates continued underwriting and returning and apportioning funds to more than 1,500 different current names for a period of time that stretched back 14 years.

Mr Pettitt grew frustrated partly because after a lifetime of travelling he was forced to sit in London and wait while investigators delved through accounts from Bermuda to Gibraltar. But then there was a breakthrough: they discovered £25 million in a Gibraltar trust fund and so had more than half the money needed to compensate names for losses which had finally been put at a massive £38 million.

Mr Pettitt too was maturing. Initial decisions had been put to executive committees, but now the chairman was taking a more prominent role. Key moves such as appointing a new "Mr Clean" chairman of the PCW agency company had come from others — in that

case Simon Arnold. Even later when dealing with angry names he often appeared indecisive. One recalled how: Mr Pettitt never said yes or no. He always wanted to take the question away. We felt he was not master of his own destiny and certainly not an entrepreneurial type.

But Mr Pettitt learned to feed on the drama, and toughened up. The offer to names made in June this year was his creation. He telephoned Jack Bogardus of Alexander & Alexander in New York and invited him to London to discuss terms for a joint compensation to names and the return of the Gibraltar money.

It is an example, as he admits, of how he automatically searches for the pragmatic solution. After a few bad moments, such as when the Inland Revenue warned it might tax the offer proceeds, and then when only 75 per cent of names accepted initially, the offer went through in August. The Ray Pettitt who announced the final results was a different man. "I felt elated. I had found the adverse publicity surrounding the offer more hurtful and difficult to handle than many other aspects of the affair."

Outsiders had described the Pettitt solution variously as a "civil servant job with no flair" and "getting away with murder." Mr Pettitt's dealings with names in putting over a difficult compromise to them would undoubtedly have been helped by a more sympathetic approach. "He seems to have difficulty smiling," was one comment.

"They also could have sold us on the solution more easily if they had grasped the non-monetary aspects we put forward." It is another example of his clear cut approach to problems that Mr Pettitt turned up at the offices of solicitors Clifford-Turner at 730 pm on June 31 expecting to sign the offer that had been drafted by Minet and Howden.

A press conference had been arranged for the following morning to announce the details. In the event it was just not as easy as Mr Pettitt had imagined. Last minute objections by A & A lawyers led to an all night wrangling session. The deal was not finally signed until 8.45 am the following morning, only a few hours before the deal was to be publicised.

But Mr Pettitt is proud of the deal, and colleagues, although they may dispute how much he personally achieved, admit the offer



Ray Pettitt — in at the deep end

resolved an almost intractable problem and largely fulfilled the aim of fending off heavy litigation against Minet.

The group's major shareholders, suspected of having pressured Pettitt, cannot be dissatisfied. "If I could put the clock back I would have firmed up the organisation. It might have been wiser to spread the burden of handling it," says Mr Pettitt.

He also regrets the damage done to development of the business even if decisions are now taken in five minutes rather than four hours thanks to the PCW experience. The affair is likely to have been Mr Pettitt's finest hour. City opinion is that Minet wants a firm administrative hand to put it back on course. If that is what is needed rather than strokes of genius, then Ray Pettitt is the man for the job that lies ahead.

The country where the plane takes the strain

Jan Rocha looks at the Brazilian bid for the RAF trainer contract

AN ORDER worth \$180 million to supply 150 jet training planes to the Royal Air Force is being disputed by the Brazilian Tucano and the Swiss Pilatus PC-9. Both planes were on show recently at Farnborough. If the order goes to Brazil, the Tucano will be built under licence by Short Brothers in Belfast.

Many people must have been surprised to discover that a valuable contract to supply the RAF with a new fleet of jet trainers could go to a Brazilian company, Embraer. What can Brazil, a country of carnival, coffee, football, and Indians, and lately troublesome priests, possibly know about building aircraft?

Even more surprising is the discovery that not only does Brazil boast a highly successful aircraft industry, but it also claims to have produced the "Father of Aviation." He is Alberto Santos Dumont, born in 1873 in Minas Gerais, the son of a wealthy engineer.

Fascinated by the books of Jules Verne, he went to study in Paris. There, between 1898 and 1906, Santos Dumont designed, built and tried out over 20 different flying machines, balloons, dirigibles and aeroplanes.

In the flight that Brazilians and French recognise as the first in a machine heavier than the air, he flew 60 metres at a height of two to three metres on October 23, 1906. During later flights Santos Dumont is said to have invented the wristwatch, to solve the problem of looking at the time when both hands were fully occupied.

Soon, many other Brazilians had begun building and flying aeroplanes. Between 1910 and 1978 over 1,000 different prototypes took to the air. There were amphibians, gliders, trimotors, helicopters, monoplanes, but few were successful and even fewer achieved financial backing.

Instead Brazil became the biggest single importer of small aircraft from the United States — importing over 2,000 four-seaters between 1963 and 1974, for use by company executives, cattle ranchers and millionaires.

With a country covering eight million square kilometres, transport has always been a problem in Brazil. Few good roads

existed before the 1960s, and the railway network is almost non-existent, because unlike the British, Brazilians never got excited about trains.

They preferred planes. Instead of building a high speed rail link between the two major cities, Rio and São Paulo, for example, to replace the meandering single track often blocked by landslides, they invented the first air shuttle.

In 25 years existence, the shuttle has flown over 30 million passengers, providing 33 flights each way every day. In the Amazon, access to many places is only possible by plane: Indian villages, goldmines, cattle ranches. Towns on the river, used to be served by the Catalina flying boats, splashing down on the water once a week. Now it's the Brazilian built Bandeirante plane, able to land in a stretch of grassy field, that flies these routes.

The Bandeirante, an 18-seater twin engine turbo prop was the plane that launched the Brazilian aviation industry. After many unsuccessful private ventures, it was only when the government decided to create a state aviation company, Embraer, in 1969, that aircraft building in Brazil took off. Its first entirely Brazilian model, the Bandeirante, became an immediate success, because it filled a gap left by the escalation of the aviation industry in the industrialised countries.

While they built bigger, faster and more sophisticated aircraft, the Bandeirante, sturdy, simple and low cost, answered the need for short haul small planes. Four hundred and fifty have now been built. In 1977 Embraer said modestly in a press release: "The eventual penetration in such sophisticated markets as the US and Europe is not ruled out."

Embraer also developed a successful line in agricultural spraying planes, and a series of military aircraft. The company has now produced over three thousand planes. The latest of these is the Tucano, already flying with the Brazilian and Egyptian air forces. Now the Brazilians hope that the RAF will soon be flying the Tucano too. They may not get excited about trains, but they believe they do know a thing or two about planes.

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Drill in life

FINANCIAL
The White
AMERICAN
OTEBOOK
Electric
NEWS
BRIEF
Brazil
COMMODITIES
Robin Stainer

The White House approach of distancing itself from all the sleaze does work



AMERICAN NOTEBOOK

Alex Brummer

IT'S BREAKFAST time in the White House. The television picture shows a smiling and bland Republican candidate for Governor framed by a border of dollar bills. A half-frank voice talks

over the picture "Where's the cash, Arch, where's the cash?" Viewers are then told that on the same day in 1972 that Richard Nixon received an illegal donation of \$100,000 from Ashland Oil Arch Moore, then fighting an earlier campaign, received \$23,000. Nixon paid it back but Moore it is said didn't.

Arch Moore is the sleaze factor in West Virginia politics. Seldom a day goes by without the Charleston Gazette detailing his tangled financial affairs and his Democratic opponent Clyde See asking for a full disclosure of what he alleges are some \$200,000 of illegal campaign contributions.

But does it make any difference to his political fortunes? The answer must be no. The opinion polls show Moore way ahead of his Democratic challenger and in the poor mining villages along Kanawha River, where unemployment is the norm, Moore is talked of fondly — even though these are some of the strongest Democratic

communities in the country. It appears at times that Americans have become so used to alleged corruption among their local leaders that it no longer makes any difference when they hear of it at a national level.

Mr Moore like his party's standard bearer in the 1984 Presidential race Ronald Reagan appears immune to such allegations. By any normal standards the last week was highly damaging for the Republicans.

The holder of a critical economic portfolio in the President's Cabinet Mr Raymond Donovan, the Labour Secretary, appeared in court on fraud charges relating to his former firm, the Schiavone Construction Company of New Jersey. He pleaded not guilty. Mr Donovan's co-defendants in the case include at least one man with known Mafia links, who has been accused of second degree murder.

Mr Donovan's indictment breaks new ground. He is the first Cabinet officer in US history to be indicted while in office. Yet, he technically remains in office. The President, instead of severing all connections with an alleged criminal, took the least line of resistance and granted him unpaid leave of absence.

Has this scarred Mr Reagan's popularity? Not as far as one can tell. The White House taking a leaf out of Arch Moore's book, has kept mum hiding behind the pretence that it doesn't want to prejudice the outcome of the case. In reality of course, many Americans cases (most notably John DeLorean's) receive a full blast of pre-trial publicity without any danger to a fair trial.

It does seem that the White House approach of distancing itself from the sleaze and shutting-up does work. In the last week, aside from Mr Donovan, several other bits of nastiness have afflicted the Reagan entourage. On September 24, Mr Lynn Helms quietly left his job as Federal Aviation

Administrator, after he was accused along with others of allegedly pocketing \$12 million from a bond issue in Arkansas.

Earlier in September Mr Thomas Reed who had served as a special adviser on nuclear issues on the National Security Council, pleaded innocent to criminal charges that he used inside information to turn a \$3,125 investment into a \$227,000 profit in 48 hours.

In a third case Senator Pat Laxalt, President Reagan's campaign director and the general chairman of the Republican Party, was allegedly tied to organised crime at casinos by the Sacramento Bee newspaper. The senator and other would-be Laxalt critics were silenced when he hit with a \$250 million libel suit which will almost certainly not be tested until after the election.

True or otherwise, all of these allegations have a Nixonian quality. But it is a comparison which is seldom made. Indeed, although the Republicans have almost had a monopoly of scandal in the build-up to November's elections, it is the Democrats, who have taken the heat.

Mrs Geraldine Ferraro, who took the brave decision to meet the critics of her personal finances head on rather than hide behind a dubious sub-judice claim, found the media swarming around her affairs like bees at a honeypot.

Each new twist in her or her husband's affairs, have been greeted like the latest episode in TV soaps Dallas or Dynasty. Did her husband John Zaccaro cheat the widow woman in New York or not? Did her father-in-law the late Philip Zaccaro rent an apartment to a Mafia boss? Did the Ferraros Zaccaros fail to disclose \$100,000 in income between 1979 and 1982 or not?

Interestingly, because there has been so much concentration on Mrs Ferraro's finances the Vice-President

not completely have given up on unfairness and integrity in a country which in many ways is so deeply religious.

Unfortunately, Mrs Ferraro because of her unprecedented role for a woman in American public life has been the star of this election campaign's disclosure show. But that does not mean it's over. The sleaze and criminality in the Nixon administration was just boiling to the surface in 1972 but didn't dominate the headlines and the political train of events until after the election.

Consumers' group against using miners' dispute to raise tariffs

Electricity price warning

By Michael Smith, Industrial Editor

The Electricity Consumers' Council is urging the Government not to pass on the effects of the miners' strike to householders and industry by raising electricity prices.

The Council, the statutory watchdog body for the electricity supply industry, says it would be wrong if the extra costs incurred in maintaining supplies led to an increase in prices.

Instead, the Council is asking the Government to bear the rising cost of the dispute entirely on its own by adjusting the industry's cash limits.

The Government could bear the additional costs of maintaining electricity supplies by reducing the large sums which the industry is due to pay to the Treasury this year under the cash limits regime. The current target is for the industry to pay the Treasury £740

million from its surpluses this year, a big increase on the £406 million target set in the last financial year.

At the same time, the Electricity Consumers' Council points out today that the industry has for too long been paying too much for the UK coal it uses.

Mr John Hatch, the Council chairman, says in his annual statement today: "There is no justification whatsoever for electricity consumers to carry on subsidising the coal industry through their electricity bills."

It is very much in the interests of electricity consumers to have cheaper coal," says Mr Hatch. "Coal is used to generate electricity and expensive coal means unnecessarily high electricity bills for household consumers and industry."

However there is increasing speculation that the Government will ignore the pleas of

the consumer and pass on the extra costs of maintaining electricity supplies through a "Scariffill surcharge" which will explain why prices have gone up.

City stock brokers, Laurie Milbank & Co have estimated that to pass on the extra costs the average electricity bill will have to rise by £15 next year, while an all-electricity household will face a £40 increase in its bills.

The main item of extra cost in keeping up electricity supplies is the increased use of oil at the power stations.

Laurie Milbank estimated that the four-fold increase in oil burning in recent months was costing the Central Electricity Generating Board an additional £45 million a week. After deducting the much reduced cost of coal, the brokers put the CEBG bill so far at £430 million and the firm estimated that if the strike continued into December the net

cost to the CEBG would be £850 million.

Latest figures from the Department of Trade and Industry show that imports of oil, coal and other fuel soared during August, despite the warm weather.

The value of fuel imports in August was slightly over £1 billion, up from \$894 million in July and almost double the \$569 million imported into Britain in August, 1983.

The main reason for the big increase was a sharp jump in the intake of oil from overseas. The volume of imports in August climbed to 2.5 million tonnes, equal to the highest monthly intake of the year and some 25 per cent higher than the corresponding month of last year.

The cost of these imports soared to £818 million, the highest monthly figures for this year and almost double the cost of imports a year ago.

Final bonanza for home micros

By Peter Large

SALES of cheap home computers will soar again this Christmas. It may be the biggest boom. It will also be the last. Next year the industry will be on a smoother, costlier roller.

The top three in business in Britain — Sinclair, Acorn, and Commodore — showed rare unity at the weekend in the verdict.

They are confident of one final bonanza for the cheap machines because of the evidence this year that sales have finally shifted from the A/E social classes to the C1s and the C2s. As Chris Curry, co-founder of Acorn, puts it: "There's half a market to go."

After that, all three firms agree that demand will dwindle for restricted computer systems under £100. They say (and their new advertising is geared to it) that the British, with more home computers per capita than any other nation, are now moving on to "serious" and communicating computers. The first phase of a revolution begun by Sir Clive Sinclair less than five years ago, when he produced a £100 computer four times faster and four times cheaper than anything else then around, may already be over.

Mr Curry foresees a parallel with colour TV sales — customers now ready to pay between £250 and £500 and ready to change about every three years.

He is less cautious than his competitors in forecasting the speed at which huge slices of the nation will communicate via computer. All three firms see an immediate demand for phone line links to central computers to obtain information and software and to expand the capabilities of the home computer.

But Mr Curry believes that 1985 will also see the start of the sort of home automation that the futurologists have been babbling about since the 1960s — home computers operating unattended tasks such as burglar and fire alarms, controlling the lights, doors and cookers and providing take off for the current small experiments in home shopping and home banking. The shortage of chips is still a problem for computer makers. Teletext, which makes graphics display terminals has enjoyed a year of rapid growth in home and export markets but says its performance has been held back by the difficulty of getting components. The chairman, Mr Roy Cole, says that this difficulty continues but will be shared by all companies in his sector.



Forestry Commission is "extraordinarily slow to wake up"

Acid rain symptoms in the UK

By Rosemary Collins, Agriculture Correspondent

Damage discovered on trees on Forestry Commission land in Scotland and north west England is remarkably similar to that widely acknowledged to have been caused by acid rain in Germany and Sweden.

Symptoms of the damage include the death of new shoots, loss of pine needles, browning of foliage and a slowing down in the rate of growth of some trees.

Until recently the Forestry Commission has cast doubt on the connection between atmospheric pollution and damage to trees in Continental Europe. But at a seminar organised by the Scottish Wildlife Trust last week Dr Bill Binns and Dr D. B. Redfern of the Forestry Commission admitted that "remarkably similar" damage had been found in Britain during March of this year.

Commission researchers are believed to be investigating possible links between the newly-found damage and climatic patterns in recent years.

They maintain that a climatic cause is probable but have not yet been able to identify it. They have, however, invited a West German scientist expert in the acid pollution of soil to inspect the sites of damage in Britain, which Dr Binns described at the SWT seminar as "new and quite widespread," and involving six tree species.

Today Friends of the Earth, the environmental pressure group, appealed to the Forestry Commission to extend the invitation to other German scientists equally well versed in atmospheric acid pollution.

"We believe that the Commission has been extraordinarily slow to wake up to the possibility of acid rain damage in Britain," FOE countryside campaigner Chris Rose said yesterday. "Despite the recommendations of the House of Commons Environment Committee this year, there is still no ozone or nitrogen oxide monitoring in British forests."

"Even if the Commission does find a correlation between the new kind of damage

and some climatic event—a warm winter or a dry spring, or whatever—it will not prove cause and effect."

Last year tree damage now attributed in Sweden to acid rain was found to cover 17 per cent of the forest area, when Swedish forestry experts had previously denied any widespread problem. This followed a briefing by West German scientists on what to look for. When the foresters went back to look they found the true scale of the problem.

In the Coal and Energy Quarterly published this summer, Dr Binns wrote that "examination of British conifer forests has revealed no symptoms similar to those seen in Germany, and no damage that can be described as new." The chances of a similar phenomenon to the German forest damage occurring in Britain were said by Dr Binns in that article to be "low."

The commercial repercussions for the Forestry Commission of the discovery of widespread damage of this tree growth-inhibiting kind could be far-reaching.

NEWS IN BRIEF

NORWEGIAN and British energy ministers meeting in London next week will not be able to settle a dispute over a \$20 billion North Sea gas deal, British junior minister for oil, Alick Buchanan-Smith, said.

Speaking to the Norwegian News Agency, Mr Buchanan-Smith said there were no prospects for gas deliveries from the Sleipner field this year and that a lot of work would have to be done before agreement was reached.

Norway's minister of oil and energy, Kaare Kristiansen, leaves for London today to meet Energy Minister Peter Walker tomorrow.

THE British National Oil Corporation is reported to have won tentative acceptance by the oil industry for a further standstill in North Sea oil prices. Despite some objections, BNOC has won agreement to hold price for the rest of the year and thus secure government revenue.

THE loss of 35 jobs in the printing industry is expected to accelerate in the coming months. Two-thirds of firms questioned by the British Printing Industries Federation say they expect to shed labour in the next three months compared with only 52 per cent previously.

EUROPEAN economies are expected to continue their recovery with slightly higher growth next year, according to Mr Doug McWilliams of the CBI. He estimates growth among 16 European nations will be 2½ per cent in 1985 compared with 2½ per cent this year.

House prices rise by 7.6 pc

By Tony May

House prices in Great Britain rose by 7.6 per cent in the year to September with the latest three months showing a 2.6 per cent increase. Now prices increased in price by 1.5 per cent in the quarter, other houses went up by 2.1 per cent while the prices of houses suitable for first-time buyers grew fastest at 2.5 per cent.

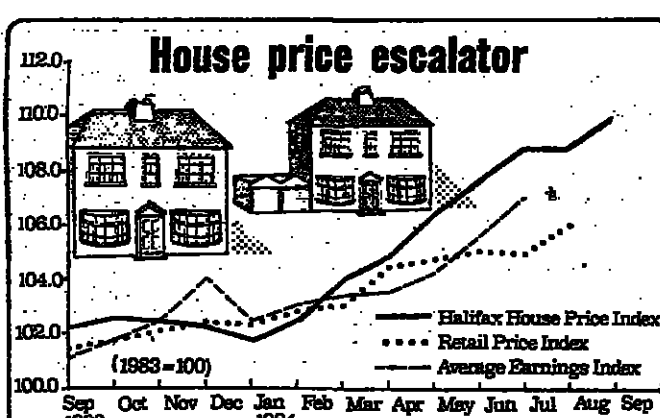
So far this calendar year house prices have risen by 7.6 per cent, up 1 per cent on last month. According to the Halifax Building Society's house price index, this rise is unusually high for this time of year.

However the Halifax still expects the whole of 1984 to show an increase for all homes of 8 per cent.

Over the past 12 months prices for first-time buyers have climbed by 8.3 per cent and by 7.5 per cent so far for the calendar year.

As usual, the regional breakdown of the figures shows large variations in house price movements.

"Prices in London and the South East continue to move ahead faster than elsewhere — nearly three times faster than in the North and West. The latest quarter shows a rise in Greater London of 11 per cent against just 3 per cent in the North.



House prices are growing in line with earnings. The forecast rise for the year is 8 per cent with a slightly faster rise seen for 1985 but this is "not likely to be more than 10 per cent."

The gap between average house prices in the various regions opened up slightly in the quarter. An inter-war semi in Yorkshire would sell for £22,500 but would cost £21,700 in London.

Commenting on the national and regional figures, Mr Alan Greenglass, the Halifax general manager, said "we are beginning to see the first signs of the usual seasonal downturn in mortgage demands."

"Given our early predictions of a slightly higher level of

price increases in 1985, some buyers may be tempted into the market now, especially given the good supply of funds resulting from the present high levels of competition."

Looking at who brought what in the third quarter the Halifax says that nearly 70 per cent of existing properties on which it offered mortgages went to 25-44 year olds. Of these 34 per cent were semi-detached properties, 28 per cent terraced and less than 19 per cent detached homes.

NEI now out of Coles deal

By Maggie Brown

Northern Engineering Industries, tipped as a potential buyer of Acrow's Coles Cranes from receiver Cork Gully now says it is no longer interested in acquiring the Sunderland company.

Cork Gully confirms that "discussions with Coles management are taking place" and a buy-out of the 99-acre works is thought to be the best option available. But this de-

pends on a financial package being pieced together.

A management buy-out rather than sale to a competitor, is seen as the best way of saving jobs, a priority for all parties concerned.

Coles employed more than 1,200 of Acrow's 3,350 workforce, is the largest employer in Sunderland, and is still probably Europe's largest maker of mobile cranes, al-

though the Japanese lead world-wide.

The receivers have been running the bulk of Acrow's business as a going concern since the banks, led by Barclays, withdrew their support on September 4. A number of sales are due to be finalised within two to three weeks.

There is considerable interest in the Thomas Storey military "balley" bridges company, based in Stockport.

Brazil moans as coffee drinkers rejoice

COMMODITIES

Robin Stainer

WORLD coffee prices could now fall quite sharply as a result of the measure agreed in London last week to control supplies during the coming 12 months. That, at least, is the fear of the leading producers, like Brazil, which ended up with a worse deal than they were hoping for after more than two weeks of difficult negotiations with consumers.

More than 70 countries, all members of the International Coffee Organisation (ICO), were involved in discussions to fix the internationally defended price range for 1984-5, the size of the global export quota for the period and the mechanism for adjustments. The final deal was worked out by a caucus comprising the US, West Germany, France and the Netherlands for the consumers and Brazil, Colombia,

Mexico and the Ivory Coast for the producers. These are the eight main coffee-trading nations.

ICO producers and consumers had entered the negotiations very far apart. The producers proposed an increase of 10 cents a pound in the ICO-defended price range of \$1.20-1.40, a pound, which has remained unchanged since 1980, backed by a relatively small global export quota for 1984-5 of 58 million. Rejecting any increase in the range, the consumers counter-proposed a quota of 64 million bags.

As one leading EEC delegate put it, most consumers wanted "a blunt instrument" which during the last eight months of the 1983-4 coffee year had been above \$1.40, back into the range and then keep it there. They thought that they had made a mistake a year ago by accepting a quota of 64 million bags and were unhappy that despite the four one-million bag increases subsequently triggered, the price had risen to a seven-year peak of \$1.50 in May.

The failure of some producers to meet their quotas, reduced West African supplies, because of crop problems, and the relatively poor quality of last season's Brazilian harvest all helped to fuel the advance, which was particularly steep for the main European importers. Coffee is a dollar-based commodity and so became disproportionately more expensive to them as the US currency soared.

This explains why most EEC members took a hard line in the London negotiations, with West Germany toughest of all. The producers had expected this. What surprised them was the inflexibility of the US. Producer delegates said that Washington appeared keener to bring down prices to its coffee-drinkers in an election year than win political kudos by helping its indebted Latin American friends.

With the US remaining unshakable right to the end, despite intense lobbying by Brazil and other producers, the consumers were able to drive a hard bargain. The measures finally agreed for 1984-5 include no change in

the ICO-defended price range and an initial quota for the period of 58 million bags, with an extra two million for the current quarter. In addition, supplies during this period will be further boosted by allowing robusta producers, like Indonesia and Uganda, to ship 35 per cent of their quota during October/December instead of the normal 25 per cent.

The consumers insisted on this so-called front-loading because they feared that supplies under quota would otherwise be very tight and prices remain high. This is because many West African robusta producers are thought unlikely to meet their full allocations.

The producers argue that these arrangements may lead to excessive supplies this quarter, especially as there are possibly several million bags of 1983-4 quota coffee already overhanging the market. This is coffee imported but not consumed during the last coffee year. They therefore sought a mechanism that would allow the quota to be cut rapidly if prices began to fall sharply, but were defeated.

The system agreed in London is for one cut of one million bags if the ICO indicator price drops to \$1.35 and another at \$1.30. The producers had wanted two reductions at this second trigger, which they argued, would help to keep the price in the upper half of the \$1.20-1.40 range.

As it is, they fear that the price may fall into the lower sector during 1984-5, which one leading negotiator thought could be a "tragic year" for producers. This fear reflects the fact that the quota will not be reduced to 58 million bags—probably a reasonable estimate of demand for the coming year—until the price drops to \$1.20.

Brazil's chief negotiator, Octavio Rêgo, accused some important consumer nations, singling out the US and West Germany, of dictating an instrument that would result in a fall in prices. The problem of high prices during the past year, he said, had as much to do with speculative forces located within importing nations' as anything else.

But now the authority has decided not to allow the transfer of registrations from one aircraft to another, which means if an aircraft is sold or even scrapped its cherished registration must go with it and can never be used again.

Britain's General Aviation Manufacturers and Traders

Association has asked the CAA to allow registration transfers to help stimulate aircraft sales. But the CAA refused, claiming transfers would involve "too much paperwork" as for air safety records the serial numbers of equipment on aircraft would also have to be recorded with the registration number.

Air number plates ban

Aviation officials have upset the ultimate in one-up-manship by banning the transfer of personal registrations on private jets. For an additional fee, the Civil Aviation Authority allows new aircraft to have any combination of four letters following the "G" marking on its tail.

But now the authority has decided not to allow the transfer of registrations from one aircraft to another, which means if an aircraft is sold or even scrapped its cherished registration must go with it and can never be used again.

Expanded competition will be accompanied by increasing use of new technology which will allow for the provision of hitherto unheard of new services like electronic banking from home. The automation of much clerical work and the need to control labour costs in a competitive environment will limit the expansion of employment in the industry.

This report will come as a mixed blessing to the Government which is looking to the service industries to be the main generator of jobs. It will be a blessing that nearly half a million new jobs could be generated by this important part of the service industries.

مكتبة الامم المتحدة

IT IS NEARLY midnight in Blackpool. The illuminations have been turned off for the night and most of the town's chip shops and restaurants are closed. But the bars are still doing good business from the delegates.

What percentage of them have been watching BBC-2's Newsnight to follow John Tusa and Vincent Hanna's boisterous account of the day's proceedings in the Winter Gardens down the road? Not many, by the traffic at the bar. But this may be deceptive. Though the bars will be almost as crowded when the Tories reach Brighton tomorrow, your average Labour delegate's obsession with the distortions of the "meejah" encourages curiosity about the reviews the performance is getting. And besides, as one NEC member puts it, Mr Hanna's camera weaves through the crowd, "they want to see if they're on telly."

Most diligent political correspondents from the newspapers will have watched Neil Kinnock on TV in case he says anything which can flesh out their first-edition reports. They will not be watching Newsnight except for pleasure unless a major interview is promised and will certainly not have listened to Radio 4's admirable World Tonight. Mr Kinnock could resign on that programme and his secret would be safe from Fleet Street until morning. The last editions are going to bed even if their authors are not.

Nowhere is the strange incestuous world of national politics and national media more exposed to view than at the major party conferences. And no one personifies it more than Mr Chris Moncrieff, chief political correspondent of the Press Association. Britain's national domestic news agency which serves all the "meejah" except the humblest local outlets.

It is the PA's ubiquitous tele-printers plus Moncrieff's legendary energy which makes him one of the most influential journalists in Britain, known to very few but among those few are every major politician of every party for the past decade. If an MP wants a statement circulated, Moncrieff's his man.

By midnight Moncrieff has already filed his overnight update of the day's main story which will be pumped out when the PA's tapes start running before dawn. BBC radio or "Breakfast" time may use it to augment their early bulletins. By that time Mr Moncrieff will be up and inside the Today programme's studio monitoring the words of Brian Redhead's political Viper, and more important, checking them for his own purposes before they return to their rooms.

Redhead himself says that the political classes tend to be

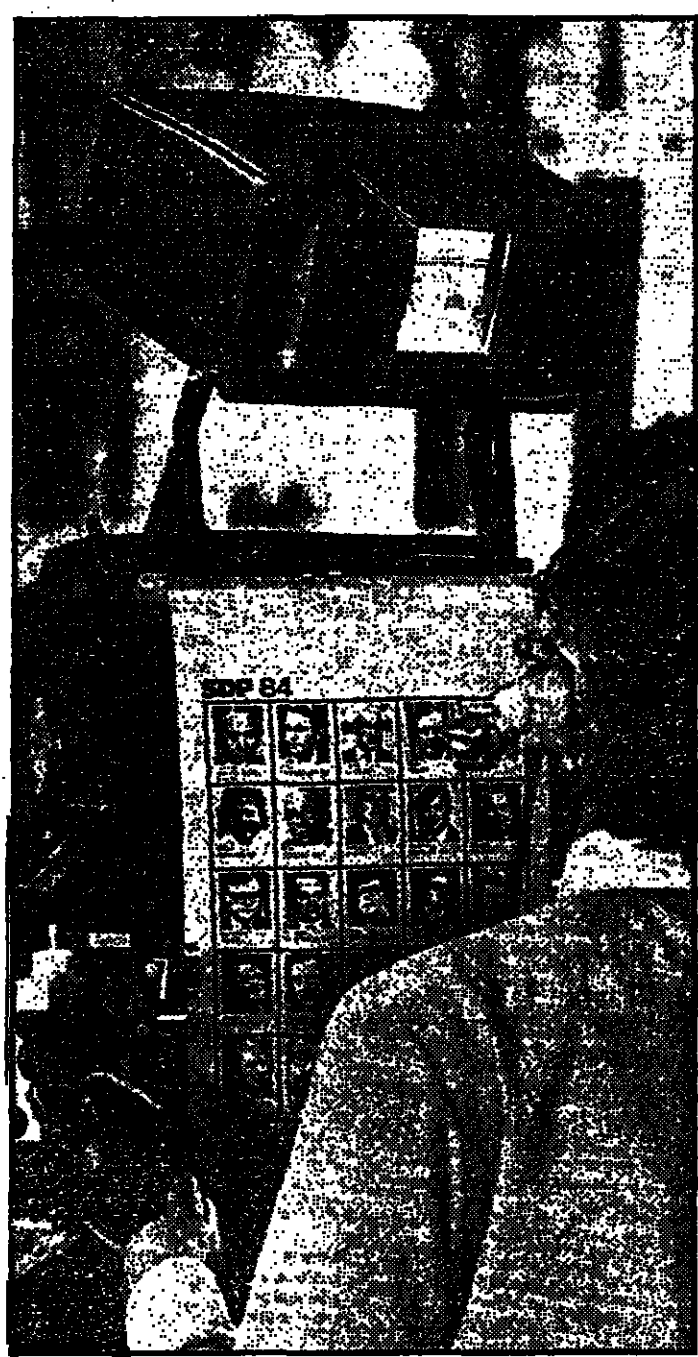


Michael White

What do the parties make of the media circus that follows their conferences? And vice versa? The Guardian's political sketch writer reports

Mixing it with the Meejah

Neil Kinnock (left) peddles a conference stunt in Blackpool (left) while a cameraman watches his crib sheet at Buxton



among the programme's five million listeners anyway and that "if you want to drop a word in the ear of the nation it is a good place to start." But at the conferences it also acts as "an internal nanny" for delegates, alerting them to the day's issues and giving the bigwigs a chance to get their message over while the faithful are still in a receptive mood.

By American standards the media coverage of the conference is still modest and restrained, indeed both networks here pride themselves on not seeking to change the nature of the conferences they cover — though they know that the politicians are gradually accommodating the event to television's needs.

But the media circus grows apace. This week in Brighton the Tories will have acce-

ditioned 4,500 party "representatives" and 1,500 media personnel. Labour, accredited 1,243 media people in 1983 and in Blackpool last week was trying to cut down, particularly on the photographers, 130 purged to 65.

Labour does not love the media and feels that Labour supporters trying to get in on visitors' tickets (2,000 a day) deserve a chance. Then, it has only 1,200 or so voting delegates and they mustn't be swamped. For the Liberals with a similar number and the SDP with rather fewer (750 this year) the problem is the same, but media attention is less — only around 500 accreditation for the SDP in Buxton.

Only about half the media folk present are print journalists. The BBC alone will have 250 tickets this week in

Brighton (311 in Blackpool). The Beeb is notoriously sensitive about this and with some justification. "Unlike the Mail-on-Sunday we have to take our printing press with us," says one soul, still bruised from reports that the commentary box at Bournemouth for the Liberals contained a case of Malvern water — not even Perrier, mark you, let alone champagne.

So figures are produced to show that 157 of the BBC's tickets last week went to technical and engineering staff, that there is 24-hour coverage to provide not just for news and current affairs, radio as well as TV, but the regional, world service and something called Wato. In addition to 100 bulletins a day and live coverage from the Liberals there were four

hours and 33 minutes in 21 languages for the World Service — including three minutes for the Hindi service, one minute in Bengali and nine in Urdu — something which will doubtless have the Bengali equivalent of Mr John Selwyn Gummer reaching for his phone.

Newsnight, Channel 4 news, and the Bengali service are useful, even important, from the political parties' point of view but not crucial. What matters to them is hours of direct communication with the voters on TV, the "gavel" coverage, or "gabble to gabble" as it is known in the trade, of the conference proceedings on BBC-1 or Channel 4.

They love it. No interviewer to dilute the message and the show runs for four or five days, its highlights often

dominating the news bulletins. And of course TV flatters the event, making it look far better than it often is.

Discreet camera work makes small audiences look large. Lively camera work cuts away to a crucial reaction shot in the hall, Arthur Scargill laughing, David Steel frowning. Mrs Thatcher deciding not to clap. It can look very exciting and the parties like it. Though Labour is perhaps more ambivalent than the others, partly because it mistrusts the media so, and partly because it mistrusts its performers who might lose the party votes.

Whether the viewers share this enthusiasm is problematic. It is what one BBC executive calls "day-time viewing of a rather solid nature." There was a moment

during last year's coverage of the TUC when ITV reckoned it had 7,000 viewers. "It would have been cheaper to bring them all here for the day," said one broadcaster. But one million viewers is not uncommon and the Kinnock-Hattersley Labour leadership contest, shown live last year, is reckoned to have held three million, 2 to 1 in the BBC's favour.

There is much talk of public service broadcasting here, giving the voters a chance to see political debate denied them by the exclusion of cameras from Westminster. (Hint, hint.)

But it is also cheap. Channel 4 will pay Granada and TV South about £12 million for providing its coverage of the conferences this year (including TUC and CBI). The Beeb will pay up more. But at £3,000 an hour that is still cheap TV. Even sport costs £20,000 and a drama £200,000.

Of course far more than five million people will read the Sun alone and other newspapers take the conference even more seriously. Second only to a Cabinet reshuffle the annual Labour conference is the most concentrated dose of politics we get, always the most exciting because — for better and for worse — the conference matters in a way the others do not. This year has been no exception.

But newspapers flatter the event rather less than TV. Even the Tory press holds the doctrine of Tory conference in some contempt.

In Brighton this week the Tory faithful will shudder as they recall the media circus in hot pursuit of Cecil Parkinson this time last year. Television interviews keenly monitored, the Sarah Keays statement to the Times, Mr Parkinson slipping out to the Imperial while a bogus press conference was staged to divert the press from their chase. The Tories will chide the press for irresponsibility and fickleness and TV for letting them down. And they will urge the party managers to work harder to "get our message across."

And in this they will show the same incomprehension of the media's own imperatives and improvisations as the Labour rank and file, though without the consolation of being able to blame it all on journalism. vital. But if the party's disappointments which it seems reluctant to tamper with.

Last week at a fringe meeting in the Imperial, the Mirror's Robert Maxwell, who explains why it couldn't be done. Actually Mr Scargill is also said to favour this sort of approach. Scargill and Maxwell in the media circus — it could be a star turn.

Media File....

NOW WHO HAVE we here? "For someone like me to say that they loathe the press would be an outright lie. Of course I love and adore Fleet Street and I'm always very obliging at public functions or even when caught unaware in rare moments of privacy."

Need another clue? "I'm always prepared to prance into the audience at the London Hilton, or blithely with Princess Margaret, because I find the frivolous side of Fleet Street immensely amusing." Or course.

The name says "words by George O'Dowd", but the face in the exquisite colour picture is unmistakably that of Boy George, even for non-fans and oldies. Which is why the new October issue of Blitz, the perky young-market monthly run by media-brats Carey Labovitch and Simon Tesler, also puts its guest media-columnist on the cover.

Boy seems too cool to have anything so passionate as a love-hate relationship with Fleet Street, but he has jumped at the chance to slap the backs of the "Social rape" is what he terms the media-circus surrounding Elizabeth Taylor at Richard Burton's funeral, and speculates about the likely reaction of the editor of the Sun if Marjorie and Boy George decided to set up a quick photo session at the funeral of one of his relatives.

The Sun, unsurprisingly, takes the main flak, in the wake of the front-page "Boy George hit me says girl, 16" yarn, run in spite of her own mother's quoted doubts, and presenting the pop-person "as a first-child-basher for all the world to see." Such allegations need more careful thought, says he. "But like a million other people I was left with no explanation and no apology. And I get the feeling both are hard to come by."

OCTOBER, in fact, seems set to be the month when the victims strike back. Here's another: "You see, I know when I've done good work and when I haven't. And when a critic gives me a bad review for good work, then I know he doesn't know what he's talking in writing through a loose of cobblers by a man whose talent you don't respect."

That's Michael Caine, in the new issue of Stills. The new edition of the film and television magazine makes its move to monthly publication, the increased frequency following its acquisition by Screen International.

Its re-styling makes it seem a touch more pop, which would be a good thing. It is not in the bargain basement, but its range is wide and still decently serious — this issue ranges from Hollywood to the world of the miners' strike coverage to the late Turkish dissident Yilmaz Guney — it has earned support through its first dozen issues.

ONLY FIVE screenings left in the National Film Theatre's packed programme of some of the globe's less exportable television output, under the title Ten Days That Show The World. But that still leaves a chance to see serial drama from Cyprus (tonight, 6.15), Israel (Tuesday 6.15), Algeria, Tunisia, Iraq (Tues. 8.30), Jamaica (Wed. 6.15), and a final screening on Wednesday at 8.30 which will be programmed from late arrivals.

The second house tonight, at 8.30 p.m. will be a seminar on Television and National Cultures, with a strong Third World slant.

THE MEDIA multiply — but the people are going to spend more of their time actually doing things, rather than having their leisure-time filled by pre-digested packages, passively received. That is the paradoxical implication of the latest report from the Henley Centre for Forecasting.

Observing that terms of employment negotiations are increasingly focusing on hours and holiday conditions, it says that although a substantial proportion of people still spend much time "stumped in front of the TV," or something similar, an increasing proportion of time is spent more constructively. And its time-use survey predicts faster growth in such areas as D-I-Y, sport, further education, and going to museums, theatres, and concerts.

Terms of employment, of course, imply employment. The centre's report also notes the gap in affluence between employed and unemployed is one of the growing "two nations" pressures. And it is jacked up a further notch by the fact that the new-wave household durables giving more leisure time to the affluent — microwave ovens, dish washers, food processors — are also those which replace employment of others in service areas.

Peter Fiddick
Media editor

Just popping up the local

Jeff Winston on the fierce battle for local radio listeners and ads



Kid Jensen — spearheading LBC's new approach

LISTENERS to LBC, London's news and information commercial radio station, would have been surprised if it is no news and the advertiser's blend in. One has to listen carefully for Jensen's coded signals — "back in a moment," "coming next" — to realise the hits have stopped and a new show is about to begin. It sounds nothing like local radio but then it was not meant to.

Perhaps they have been allowed to take the show because it is new in itself. At least that is what the ILR stations believe because for the first time they have come together to broadcast a nationally networked programme. Until now the companies have fiercely guarded their independence and rejected any networking proposals.

But yesterday and last Sunday the network did come together in a new form of spirit of cooperation. The companies want to win an audience — the biggest radio

playing pop music. For two hours it is wallpaper to wallpaper music with links kept to an absolute minimum. There is no news and the advertiser's blend in. One has to listen carefully for Jensen's coded signals — "back in a moment," "coming next" — to realise the hits have stopped and a new show is about to begin. It sounds nothing like local radio but then it was not meant to.

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But yesterday and last Sunday the network did come together in a new form of spirit of cooperation. The companies want to win an audience — the biggest radio

audience of the week. Every Sunday evening at five o'clock ILR's listeners drift away as nearly six million people tune in to Radio One's chart show. Even LBC's news-hungry audience all but disappears.

Analysis of the latest independent radio research (RICAR July 1984) indicates that many of the listeners to Radio One are normally faithful to ILR. This has always annoyed the companies and quite simply they want their audience back.

But, in this case, winning an audience is only a means to an end. The real importance of the show lies in its potential attractiveness to advertisers.

Local radio has never attracted much national advertising. The industry suffers from what one advertising executive describes as "low salience." Coming to terms with over 40 separate stations, each with its own rate card and different set of

ratings is something of a nightmare.

The industry tried to tackle the problem three years ago when it organised itself into regions broadly similar to the ITV sales areas. Despite this and despite the efforts of the two-year-old Radio Marketing Bureau national sales have stuck at around 22 per cent of the available cake. Even though the industry has produced some notable sales success stories there is still a feeling that there is not much "national" about 44 local radio stations.

Networked programmes — especially one that might grab an audience, like the Top Thirty — could help change that.

Colin Walters, managing director of Manchester's Piccadilly Radio and chairman of the industry's programming committee said the response from advertisers has been good. "They like the idea and the programme has increased awareness; even

critics of ILR as an advertising medium has given it a cautious welcome.

His optimism is echoed by Dick Seabright, who heads Independent Radio Sales, one of the three sales houses who sell the show.

"In sales terms we have got off to a cracking good start," he said. There is a special introductory offer where for £2,000 you can buy a second ad. This will soon be increased to a maximum of £4,000.

They will probably have to wait until the new year "to give the show a chance to build," he explains. If it achieves its expected ten rating then the cost of reaching a thousand 15 to 34 year olds will be around £1.75.

The young audience is important to ILR. As radio listenership declines, the only Radio One has held its audience while the pirates, with their non-stop music, seems to be winning

the youngsters. The Top Thirty Show recognises the trend.

Colin Walters is convinced it will bring the youngsters back. "Our chart makes the BBC's show sound as out of date as Children's Hour," he says. Obviously delighted the Beeb has taken the new challenge seriously enough to re-vamp their own show and bring in a new presenter, Richard Skinner.

But programmes go out at five o'clock and the clash was deliberately designed to create a ratings war. It is also indicative of the belligerent commercial stance ILR has taken over the last six months.

If the show is successful it should generate well in excess of £5 millions. That will be shared out amongst the companies broadcasting the programme and maybe that is the other reason listeners to LBC at five o'clock on Sunday afternoons can now hear pop music instead of the news.

Ministers and runs the risk of becoming antithetical with Dawson was apt to ignore these risks.

From the second indictment, originally based on two oft-quoted letters of Dawson in 1987, the editor of the Times escapes rather more lightly. He had written of how he could not understand why the Germans should feel so antagonistic to the Times.

"I do my utmost, night after night, to write to the paper's temporary Berlin correspondent, 'to keep out of the paper anything that might hurt their susceptibilities.' And to Lord Luthian he wrote of how he spent his nights dropping in little things which are intended to so the them."

All this McDonald (albeit reluctantly) concludes was hyperbole. The chief Berlin correspondent, Norman Ebbutt, "complained of excursions from time to time, but the cuts were usually made by the editor but by sub-editors and they were not made on any grounds of policy but because this courageous correspondent wrote often at too great length at times obscurely, and occasionally very late."

Dawson, then, may not have been a censor, but he was still a disastrous observer of European affairs. He paid far more heed to the views of ministers than to the reports of his own correspondents.

Iverach McDonald, The History of the Times, Vol V Struggles in War and Peace, 1938-1945, published by Times Books price £20.

Richard Gott is the author (with Martin Gilbert) of The Appearances, published by Weidenfeld, 1983.

Michael Simmons on a Soviet scoop

Russian out of print

LENIN had a soft spot for newspapers. They represented, he said, the ideal tool for propaganda, agitation, and organisation. He also had a soft spot for Moldavia, the small republic sandwiched between Ukraine and Romania. It was there that he and fellow conspirators produced the underground newspaper, Iskra. The Spark, at the beginning of the century.

And Moldavia matters today. It is on the Soviet Union's western flank and so has strategic importance. It also contains fierce nationalist elements and is keenly aware of the recalcitrant line taken today by the Romanian government next door. Many of the older generation were born in what was Romania. Loyalty to Moscow line is clearly essential.

Important means of maintaining and encouraging this loyalty is the republic's newspaper, Sovetskaya, Moldavia, but, sadly for Moscow, this newspaper is in big trouble. Pravda despatched one B. Yevladov, an investigative reporter, Soviet-style, to find out what was wrong.

Obviously, there is no dust of Tannenberg. Wells there is Mr Turkun of Rishnev. "I have been reading the paper for 10 years," he is reported as saying, "but you can't see the people and the problems in the paper behind the technology. My comrades are cancelling their order."

Circulation today is 110,000, roughly 60,000 down on ten years ago. Pretty pictures, snappy headlines and com-

positors' gimmicks, apparently, have not kept readers. What is missing, says Yevladov, is the "spiritual" impact, "sharp" journalism, and "depth and candour" in the commentaries.

But what of the editorial coverage? A good one, with an outstanding combine harvester operator, says Yevladov, did wonders for other combine harvest operators, who heeded his advice, but the account of one big farm, "holding virtually no meetings and taking no decisions" showed that journalistic "zeal" was evaporating. The reporter had refused to get involved.

Yevladov's recipe is to turn the party organs into the life of party organisations, and say what they are up to at the farm, in the factory, even in the scientific research institutions. Interestingly, at a time of deeply conservative central rule — he regrets the lack of satirical articles.

What he does not say is that if Sovetskaya Moldavia fails and turns into yet another closure, then one of the most politically and strategically "sensitive" republics in the entire country will be without the guidance of a daily paper exclusively devoted to the ruling Party line.

Obviously there are other ways of getting through even to Moldavian hearts and minds, and Yevladov will doubtless be well pleased that someone in the Party headquarters is burning the midnight oil looking for just such a way

FEW episodes in its history have done more damage to the reputation of the Times than its outspoken support for the appeasement policy of Neville Chamberlain in the 1930s, extended by its editor, Geoffrey Dawson, and his deputy, Robin Barrington Ward.

It caused grave disension in Printing House Square at the time, and has rankled ever since. So much so that the latest volume of The History of the Times, published today, returns to the subject, even though the period had already been well covered in an earlier tome.

The author, Iverach McDonald, said himself a distinguished former Times man who joined the paper in 1935 — claims that this is merely "a necessary look back, in the light of new evidence, but it is clear that for him, as for many of his generation, the memory of the appeasement policy."

The European policy of the paper, McDonald writes, devised by Dawson and Barrington Ward, "encouraged the dangers to mount far too dangerously for far too long." And he recalls with obvious sympathy the savage letter of resignation of the lobby correspondent, Anthony Winn (whose copy on Duff Cooper's resignation at the time of Munich had been altered by Dawson), who wrote in explanation that "my distaste for what I frankly regard as a silly and dangerous policy has been hardening for many weeks."

The traditional indictment against the Times in the 1930s is that its editorials — notably over Czechoslovakia and Poland — encouraged Hitler in his ambitions. In addition, by his pro-German attitudes and



Geoffrey Dawson, left, and Robin Barrington Ward — appeasement policy still very real

Richard Gott reviews the latest History of the Times

War in the Times of peace

his suppression of news from Germany, Dawson allowed British public opinion to be lulled into a sense of false security. The first indictment is, if anything, strengthened by the new evidence.

For, in spite of protestations to the contrary, the Times was all too often the voice of the appeasement advocates in Government and the Foreign Office — and McDonald traces the actual links.

The famous September 7, 1938, editorial which recom-

mended the secession of the Sudetenland — and described here as marking "the lowest point" in the paper's pre-war policy" was written by Leo Kennedy, the chief foreign leader-writer, "guided both by the tenor of talks within the office and by the memory of two confidential remarks by the Ministers most directly involved" (Chamberlain and Halifax).

At the time of the other famous episode, on April 1, 1939, when a Times leader took the stuffing out of

Chamberlain's apparently unequivocal pledge to Poland, the culprit again was Leo Kennedy. This time he'd got the line from Alex Cadogan, the permanent under-secretary at the Foreign Office and an influential supporter of appeasement. "I had seen Cadogan the day before," Kennedy recorded, "and wrote the leader entirely on the lines of our talk and of what he told me."

"Every Editor," noted the previous volume of the Times history, "has the duty to see

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Press Office

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The British National Oil Corporation

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125 mph

French motor industry looks
for a helping hand

Optimists on show

THIS YEAR, as everybody knows, is the centenary of the motor car. Well, at least as far as the French are concerned. As a forerunner to the biennial motor show opened by M. Mitterrand last week, the French this summer held a three-month celebration at the spectacular Grand Palais marking one hundred years of the French automobile. The typically Gallic claim is for the efforts of one Edouard Delamare-Deboutteville who with the assistance of his chief mechanic, Leon Malandrin, successfully completed and drove a four-wheeled vehicle on a road near Rouen: the prototype no longer exists, but the drawings have fortunately been preserved and a reconstruction was made to take pride of place at the exhibition.

The official French view is that Messrs Benz and Daimler made a valuable contribution to the series manufacture of vehicles powered by petrol engines.

In fact, the French motor industry could do with something of a helping hand itself again at the moment: it might almost have been wiser to have waited a year or so to see if things might improve. From a Renault exhibition, production and registrations have dwindled and hovered, but there is a depressing

trend. And, surprisingly for the fiercely nationalistic French there is the fact that imported cars, which took scarcely one fifth of the market five years ago, now hold a menacing third.

While most of the other major national automobile industries are showing signs of an upturn, the picture is unrelentingly gloomy here. There are accumulating debts and, most significant of all, a pressing need for more capital investment. That neither of the two principal companies, the Peugeot group nor Renault can afford.

You have to be an optimist to survive in the motor business and the French are no exception. The Paris Show is a major one challenged only in its nationalism by that due to be held in Turin next month and forming a total benefit for the Italian car makers. This current display has to go in the book as totally Renault dominated — as you might expect.

If there has to be a star of the show then, in the public interest, it has to be the "new" Renault 5, or as the regime would have it, the "Superfive". But it is not the Renault 5, or as the regime would have it, the "Superfive". But it is not the Renault 5, or as the regime would have it, the "Superfive".

with the expected turbo-charged version, 182 bhp (which is a lot for front wheel drive to cope with) and a maximum speed of 140 miles per hour. It will have, fortunately, anti-skid braking as standard. Also new is a stretched limousine version of the car due to go on sale before the end of the year and very much a special order option for status minded companies.

The Traffic gets four wheel drive and there are also new turbo-charged diesel engines for the imaginative Espace replacement which is a major one challenged only in its nationalism by that due to be held in Turin next month and forming a total benefit for the Italian car makers.

SEEN in the carpark at the show on a Peugeot 205: The Hatchback of Notre Dame.

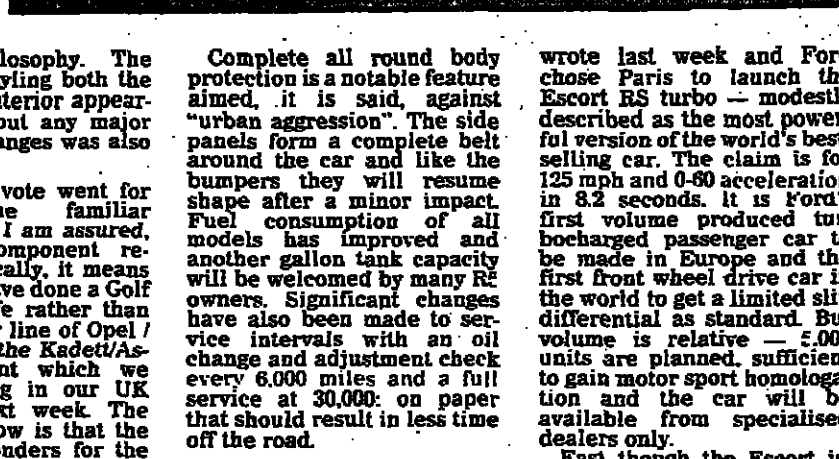
Of course, the main interest lies in the new Five which really illustrates the dilemmas faced by so many manufacturers today: how do you replace a winning act? Renault rejected a risky option the course of producing a car completely different in concept, in its relationship with the rest of the range and

From Roy
Harry in
Paris

with its philosophy. The thought of restyling both the exterior and interior appearance but without any major mechanical changes was also discarded.

Instead, the vote went for retaining the familiar silhouette but, I am assured, with every component redesigned. Basically, it means that Renault have done a Golf and played safe rather than take the bolder line of Opel/Vauxhall with the Kadet/Asira replacement which we shall be seeing in our UK showrooms next week. The view at the show is that the car will do wonders for the already booming Peugeot 205C.

The main aim of the new car was to provide greater interior space and the key was in transversely fitting the engine instead of the previous "North-South" arrangement. The overall dimensions mean a couple of inches more in length and width so that there is more passenger space — though perhaps not as much as you might have expected.



Complete all round body protection is a notable feature, it is said, against "urban aggression". The side panels form a complete belt around the car and like the bumpers they will resume shape after a minor impact. Fuel consumption of all models has improved and another gallon tank capacity will be welcomed by many Renault owners. Significant changes have also been made to service intervals with an oil change and adjustment check every 6,000 miles and a full service at 30,000, on paper that should result in less time off the road.

The new Five is already on sale in France with an output of 975 daily at the Flins factory and there is a planned rapid build-up to more than double that figure by January. The UK launch date is set for the new year with seven versions likely, ranging from 55bhp TC to a turbo 1397cc.

Turbocharging abounds at the show. Citroen have their new flagship about which I

wrote last week and Ford chose Paris to launch the Escort RS turbo — modestly described as the most powerful version of the world's best-selling car. The claim is for 125 mph and 0-60 acceleration in 8.2 seconds. It is Ford's first volume produced turbocharged passenger car to be made in Europe and the first front wheel drive car in the world to get a limited slip differential as standard. But volume is relative — 5,000 units are planned, sufficient to gain motor sport homologation and the car will be available from specialised dealers only.

Fast though the Escort is, nothing at the show — except perhaps another Ferrari — can compete with the Ferrari Testarossa (the name means redhead and refers to cam covers painted in Italian racing red instead of the usual black). The trouble is that I do not know of any roads where it is safe to travel at more than three miles per minute. In any case, supplies for Britain, I am consoled, will be strictly limited.

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Regis move in balance

... Sole of Spain by the
of the year.

David Davies at St Nom la Breteche

Lyle pounces as Seve slips

GOLF

SEVERIANO BALLESTEROS was almost certain to win the Bernhard Langer tournament at St Nom la Breteche. But not Sandy Lyle. Surely Lyle could not have won the tournament, could he? The answer is yes. Lyle won the tournament by a margin of 10 strokes over Seve Ballesteros.

But he did, of course, in a sudden-death play-off that earned him £22,000 and took his earnings in Europe this year to all but £100,000.

He beat Ballesteros at the first extra hole, with a 10-foot birdie putt after the Spaniard had missed from four feet at the 17th and 10 feet at the 18th in the fourth round, when either putt would have given him the title.

Lyle won, moreover, with a radical change to his grip, the most difficult component of his game a player can attempt to change. Because he was not required for the Sunbury World Matchplay Championship last week, the organisers preferring Corey Pavin, Lyle spent the week practising. He decided, on the simple principle of trying something different, to adopt the interlocking grip as practised by Jack Nicklaus, rather than the Vardon grip he has used for the last 15 years or so.

Lyle immediately found that the change eliminated the occasional moment when the club slipped or twisted in his hands, and also discovered that, for some reason, the iron from the seven to the wedge flew straighter. After yesterday's win, the method could be due for an extended trial.

Lyle, it must be said, played the whole day without the pressure attendant on Ballesteros. The Scot began badly, in fact, dropping a shot at the first and then missing a putt of no more than 18 inches at the fourth. These errors seemed to have a liberating effect, though, and Lyle went on to birdie seven of the next 14 holes.

The crucial birdie as it turned out, came at the 10th, for which Lyle needed his best drive followed by a two iron. The ball pitched the middle of the green, but somehow shot off sharply to the right, to finish in a bunker past the pin.

Lyle then had a tricky shot out, which left him with an even trickier six-foot putt downhill. He holed it to go 10 under par, and thus secure, so we thought at the time, second place.

Lyle was in the second-last group, but it was over an hour before Ballesteros, in the last group, arrived at the 17th. He hit two shots on to the fringe of the green, and when he chipped to four feet his birdie putt looked a formality. Yet he missed it, and went on to miss the longer putt at the 18th.

That meant a play-off, and Lyle hit the shorter drive of the two. But his second shot, a 10-foot putt past the pin while Ballesteros, from the semi-rough, could get no closer than 25 feet.

The Spaniard's birdie putt never looked like going in, but Lyle was punching the air with his right fist while his putt was still a foot from the hole.

The Lancome was his second victory of the season, after his Italian Open success, and gives him an outside chance of winning the Sperry Order of Merit in the next few weeks.

Lyle's victory was a surprise, but it was not unexpected. Lyle has been in excellent form since he won the Sunbury World Matchplay last week, and he has been in excellent form since he won the Sunbury World Matchplay last week.

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NOW FOR THE BIG ONE... Alain Prost celebrates the win that kept his championship hopes alive

Maurice Hamilton at the Nuerburging on the European Grand Prix

Prost and Lauda spin out their title duel

MOTOR RACING

ALAIN PROST did all that he could to prevent Niki Lauda from becoming world champion at the Nuerburging yesterday when he led the European Grand Prix from start to finish and reduced the gap on his McLaren teammate to just 41 points with one race remaining. Lauda, who had a superb drive from 15th place on the grid, the Austrian driver spinning on lap 22 while trying to pass slower cars.

Had the race been half a mile longer, Lauda would have finished second, since he would have passed the Ferrari of Michele Alboreto and Nelson Piquet's Brabham-BMW as they ran out of fuel. As it was, Alboreto snatched second place as Piquet stuttered towards the line, but the Ferrari then cut out completely almost allowing Piquet to retake the place within the last few yards.

Rene Arnoux's Ferrari took fifth place which at one stage looked like belonging to Nigel Mansell, but the Renault engine on the Englishman's Lotus blew up spectacularly with 15 laps remaining and caused Mansell to spin off with the rear of the car on fire.

Mansell had made a slow start but turned out to be a blessing since he avoided



ALBORETO: second place

an accident involving five cars at the first corner. None of the drivers was injured but the incident helped Lauda make up ground during the first lap, the McLaren crossing the line in ninth place. Lauda then moved up three places during the next five laps and latched on to a battle for fourth place between Derek Warwick's Renault and Alboreto.

Warwick, who had been forced to start with his spare car, withstood the pressure magnificently and it was Lauda who made a rare misjudgment when the trio tried to lap a battle for 17th place between the Osella of Gartner and Mauro Baldi's Spirit.

Baldi let Warwick through on the approach to a corner and then took his line, an

impolite if predictable move by the Italian. Alboreto managed to avoid the Spirit but Lauda, who was following closely, had to lock his brakes and spin the McLaren.

The spin caused a tyre imbalance which would affect Lauda in varying degrees for the rest of the race and he settled down, hoping for a finish in the points. Warwick's retirement with a broken exhaust moved Lauda up one place but there was nothing he could do about Prost's magnificent performance at the end of the field.

The Frenchman had pulled away at the start from the Renault of Patrick Tambay—who retired on lap 47—and Piquet, and he was never in any difficulty even though he used the same car which had been damaged when he spun off during the warm-up practice session earlier in the day.

The line points for his sixth win of the season means Prost will continue to dispute the championship with Lauda during the final round in Portugal on October 21. Prost needs to finish the race first or second if he wins. Lauda must finish second to take the title and if Prost is second Lauda needs fifth place or better.

EUROPEAN GP (Nuerburging) — 1. Prost (F1), 2. Alboreto (F1), 3. Piquet (F1), 4. Arnoux (F1), 5. Tambay (F1), 6. Warwick (F1), 7. Mansell (F1), 8. Gartner (F1), 9. Baldi (F1), 10. Lauda (F1), 11. Suter (F1), 12. Berres (F1), 13. Schmitz (F1), 14. Kauder (F1), 15. Winkelhock (F1), 16. Schenker (F1), 17. Winkelhock (F1), 18. Winkelhock (F1), 19. Winkelhock (F1), 20. Winkelhock (F1).

SNOOKER

Clive Everton

Davis soon makes it a double

STEVE DAVIS, recipient of a £10,000 prize from a Scottish whisky firm last month, took the £30,000 winner's cheque offered by Irish whiskey distiller as he beat Tony Knowles 9-2 in their best-of-17 frames final of the Jameson International at Eldon Square Recreation Centre, in Newcastle, yesterday. He led 5-2 at the interval and rattled off the first four frames of the evening session.

Davis, who had dropped only six frames in his previous four matches, fell behind to Knowles' initial break of 47 but won a gripping opening frame of 44 minutes on the second day.

Knowles, winner of the title two years ago, made a break of 50 in running away with the third but Davis, trying for his third win in four years, won the fourth frame of 57 to the pink.

For Knowles this was a reversal of Saturday's trend when clearances or near clearances from behind of 64, 95 and 79 kept him to within one frame of Steve Francis at the interval of their semi-final before he ran to victory 9-6 with the four-frame winning streak which concluded the evening.

A clearance in the last frame of the evening (5-5) would have been invaluable but after he had won the sixth, Knowles squandered his chance of reaching 2-4 by leaving a single blue short of the pocket to present the world champion with perfect position for a yellow-to-pink sequence and 5-2.

Bob Shearer hit a fine four-under-par final round of 68 to win the South Australian Open at Kooragang yesterday, after starting the day seven shots behind fellow-Australian Terry Gale.

Calvin Peete shot a four-under-par 68 to take a two-stroke lead over Ron Streck after three rounds of the Texas Open in San Antonio on Saturday.

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9 0 News: Start the
Richard Baker
10 0 Money Box: 198

10 30 Morning Story: Alice and the
Jogging Plumber, by Fred Unger
10 45 Daily Service
11 9 Down Your Way visits Pearth.
11 45 Poetry Please!
12 0 You and Yours. Consumer advice
12 27 Around the World in 25 Years.
Johnny Morris recalls jaunts in
Greece.
1 0 The World at One: News.
1 40 The Archers.
2 0 Woman's Hour among the extras
at the filming of 1984.
3 0 The Afternoon Play: Mairnet and
the Millionaires, by Georges

4 17 **A Sense of Theatre.** Patrick Garland discusses his personal sense

4 40 Story Time: Stepping Westward,
by Malcolm Bradbury (11).
5 0 PM News magazine.
6 0 The Six O'Clock News

6:30 Quote... Unquote. Panel game.
7:00 News: The Archers.
7:20 Science Now. Weekly lab report.
7:50 The Monday Play: The Long
March, by Anne Devlin. Helen
remembers the heady days of

60s — but Belfast, ten years on, is a very different place.

9 35 Kaleidoscope: Arts magazine — including a report from the Frankfurt Book Fair.

10 15 A Book at Bedtime: I Heard the Owl Call My Name, by Margaret Craven (1).

10 30 The World Tonight.

11 15 The Financial World Tonight.

11 30 Music at Night: Mendelssohn's songs without words played by Walter Gieseking.

12:33 shipping forecast.

WHF: 11.0 - 12.0 Schools, 1.55 pm
Listening Corner, 2.5-3.0 Schools, 11.0
- 11.30 Study on 4, 12.30 - 1.10 am
Schools Night Broadcast.

Wales (340m): 4.9 am A+ Radio 2, 5.10
Farming Wk: 5.25 am A+ 5.30 Muck
Flv'n, 11.3. Alan Williams, 12.38 pm
Meet for Lunch, 1.40 A+ Radio 4, 1.55
Cathphrase 1, 2.2 A+ Radio 4, 3.3
Cathphrase 2, 4.0 Radio 4, 4.5
Cathphrase 1, 4.7.0 Cathphrase 2, 5

Monday, 11-2-4 0 am **Radio 3**
 9.00 **Weather**
 9.05 **Gweler Radio** 3.25 **Am**
 9.30 **Swast-hiwr** 9.45 **Gwynfyn** 10.30
 10.45 **Bedd** 11.00 **Nyddion Da**
 11.05 **Radio 1** 11.30 **Stradlin Dwydd**
 12.30 pm **Radio 1** 1.00 **Am**
 1.10 **Gweler** 1.50 **Gweler** 2.00
 2.30 **Am** 3.30 **Afternoon Theatre** 4.45
 5.00 **Radio 1** 5.30 **Am** 6.00
 6.05 **Gweler Radio** 6.30 **Gweler**
 6.45 **Radio 1** 7.00 **Swast-hiwr** 7.30 **Radio 1**
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World Service

40 am in the following times GMT:
 4.00 am Newsdesk 7.0 News, 7.1 Twenty
 Four Hours, 7.30 Sarah and Company, 8.0
 News, 8.9 Reflections, 8.15 Nineteen
 Eighty-four, 8.30 Anything Goes, 9.0
 News, 9.8 British Press Review, 9.15
 Waveguide, 9.25 Good Books, 9.40 Link
 Ahead, 9.45 Peeples' Choice, 10.1
 Minute in Action, 11.0 News, 11.9 News

2 0 noon Radio Newsworld. 12 15 pm
ram of Britain 1984. 12 45 Sports
roundup. 1 0 News. 1 9 Twenty-Four
hours. 1 30 Modern Masterpiece. 2 0
outlook. 2 45 Persona Grata. 3 0 Radio
Newsworld. 3 15 A Word in Edgeways.
4 5 Music in the Age of Chivalry. 4 0
ews. 4 9 Commentary. 4 15-Hot Air
30 Letter from Chad. 4 45 The World

15. *Asiatic News*, 8.9.20
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 92. *Asiatic News*, 8.9.20
 93. *Asiatic News*, 8.9.20
 94. *Asiatic News*, 8.9.20
 95. *Asiatic News*, 8.9.20
 96. *Asiatic News*, 8.9.20
 97. *Asiatic News*, 8.9.20
 98. *Asiatic News*, 8.9.20
 99. *Asiatic News*, 8.9.20
 100. *Asiatic News*, 8.9.20

WAVELENGTHS: Radio 4—1,500m (200kHz). London only 417m (720kHz). VHF: Radio 3—247m (1,215kHz). VHF: Radio 2—192m (1,563kHz), 330m (909kHz). VHF: Radio 5—285m (1,053kHz), 275m (1,091kHz).

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سید احمد علی

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Scargill case: 'Cabinet cannot intervene'

Actress dies

The actress Charlotte Long, the 18-year-old daughter of the government whip, Viscount Long, died yesterday from injuries she received in a crash on the M4 in Berkshire last week.

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**NEWS
IN BRIEF**

**Iraq raid
kills six**